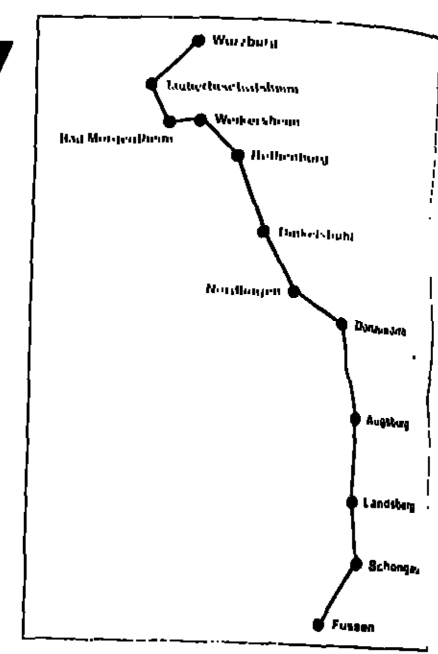
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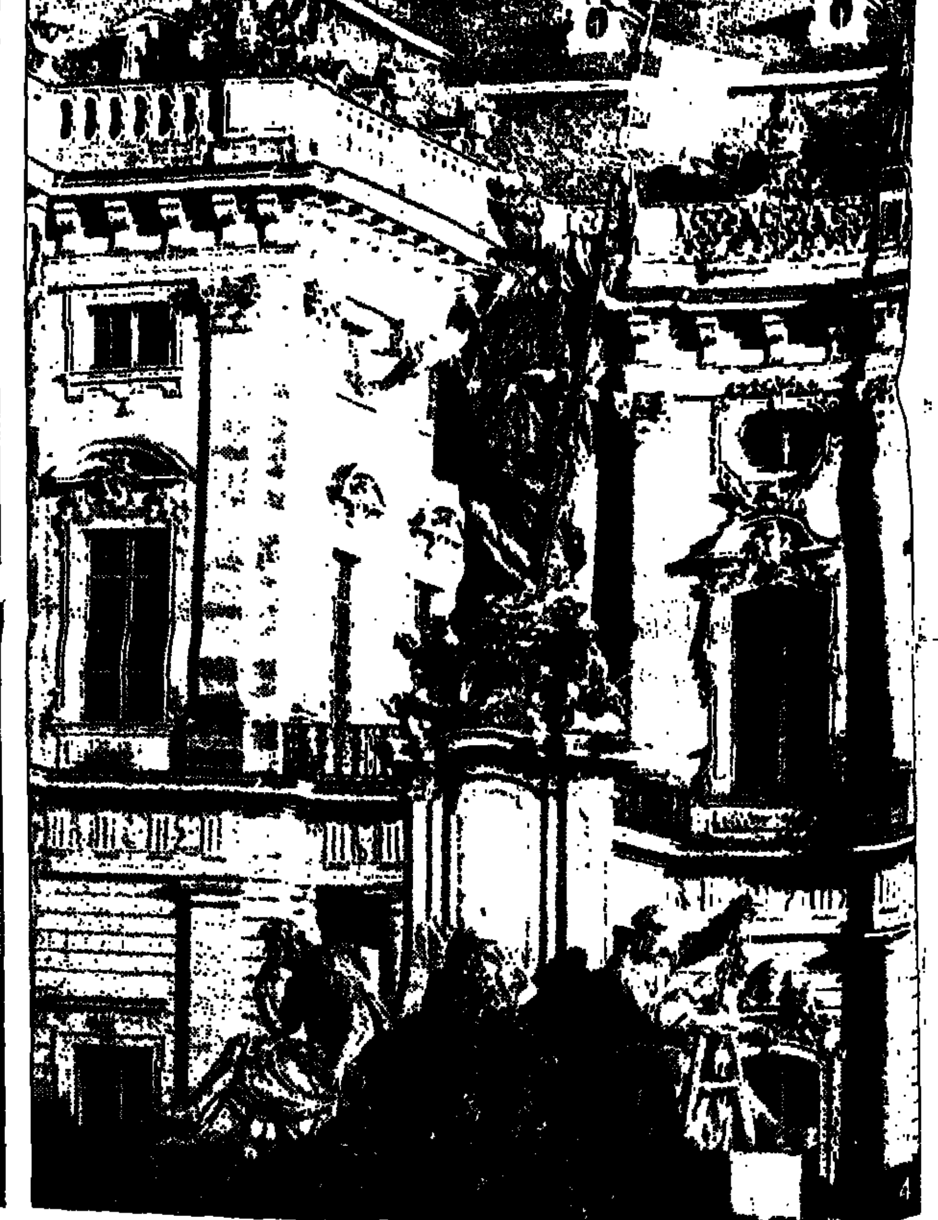
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The German Tribune

Hamburg, 27 September 1987
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Missiles agreement an historic 'beginning of the beginning'

Süddeutsche Zeitung

History was undoubtedly made when President Reagan announced, in a few, brief sentences, that the superpowers had agreed in principle to scrap all medium-range missiles.

It may even have been an understatement to call it a historic occasion, disarmament on this scale being something the world has never before accomplished.

If the treaty is signed as planned on Thanksgiving Day, 26 November, and then ratified and implemented in the next three to five years, it would be unprecedented in 700 years of modern history.

A successful INF treaty would be the first instance of genuine, voluntary, bilateral disarmament. The 1972 and 1979 Salt treaties were, as the name shows, no more than commitments to arms limitation.

They regulated the arms build-up but left both sides ample room to add fuel to the fire.

There may have been instances of genuine disarmament, but they were either enforced or undertaken unilaterally when it so suited a government.

Twentieth-century disarmament moves that have been enforced include Versailles, after the First, and Allied decrees after the Second World War.

In the post-World War II era German and Japanese industry was first dismantled, then both countries were forbidden for years to manufacture and trade in arms.

Voluntary, unilateral disarmament is, in contrast, a routine move in classical politics, although it too cannot be classified as genuine.

When an aircraft or a tank is phased out, swords are not made into ploughshares. All that happens is that old iron is replaced by new materiel that flies further and targets more accurately.

Viewed in this light, the medium-range missile treaty as heralded would be not merely a historic but a unique move. The West would scrap 316 latest cruise missiles and 108 Pershing 2s; the East would dismantle 441 SS-20s, 112 ageing SS-4s and roughly 130 SS-12s and SS-22s.

Even then, British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe is right in referring to merely the "beginning of the beginning" and the Nato secretary-general is right in drawing Biblical comparisons.

True enough, Lord Carrington, we are still remote from the promise of "lions lying down alongside lambs and T-72 tanks being converted into Ukrainian tractors."

Broadly speaking, the INF treaty as envisaged will scrap only three per cent of nuclear weapons, and the "beginning of the beginning" was fairly straightforward.

It might arguably be compared with an attack on an artichoke, which hides its scrubbing-brush heart behind its tasty, easily-plucked leaves.

Similarly, Pershing 2s and SS-20s are not the heart of nuclear disarmament. This distinction is held by 10,000 strategic warheads on each side and by anti-missile systems in space, an issue on which the Reykjavik summit came such a cropper a year ago.

So it is no coincidence that Reagan and Gorbachov have turned to Euromissiles instead. The Soviet Union, for instance, is scrapping not a single missile that keeps the United States at bay and already has a substitute at the ready.

It is the SS-24, a mobile intercontinental missile with a range of between 3,000 and 9,000 kilometres that can be aimed at both Bonn, Germany, and Boston, Mass.

The United States stands to forfeit a few attack options but will, in return, gain slightly in security. The Pershing and cruise missile zero, eliminating the threat to the Soviet "sanctuary" from Western Europe, will reduce the risk of small-scale nuclear hostilities being promptly transformed into a world war. The superpowers will stay what they are: armed to the teeth with nuclear weapons. Britain and France, the European nuclear powers, will maintain and modernise their nuclear weapons. The remainder of Nato can but hope that the "beginning of the beginning" will eventually lay the groundwork for greater stability by means of fewer weapons.

It will also be left with a fresh problem: what to do with the 4,600 tactical nuclear weapons designed mainly for use between the Rhine and the Oder — and what to do about the natural, conventional and geographic superiority of the Soviet Union that prompted Nato to embark on nuclear armament 30 years ago.

For the Federal Republic, as the country between the two fire curtains, there are two logical possibilities that pose an appalling dilemma.

It faces a choice between the third zero (in respect of tactical nuclear weapons) and modernisation (possibly by means of longer-range airborne tactical missiles). The former would heighten the East's conventional advantage, while the latter might lead to large-scale domestic political difficulties.

One solution might be disarmament in respect of tanks and field guns, but that is the most difficult option of all, as shown by the 14-year-old standstill of the Vienna MBFR troop cut talks.

That makes it all the more important to take Mr Gorbachov at his word and eusre that at the "end of the beginning" not just nuclear weapons but Soviet tank armies vanish from the face of Europe.

Josef Joffe
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 21 September 1987)

Spain's Premier comes for a chat

Trade and defence topped the agenda when Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez (left) and Chancellor Helmut Kohl met in Bonn.

IN THIS ISSUE

Tirana keeps up momentum — link with Bonn

Albania agreed this month to establish diplomatic links with two more countries, Canada and West Germany. America and Britain are now the only two major western countries without representation in Tirana. The agreement with Bonn has taken three years to draw up, mainly because of a long-standing Albanian demand for war-time reparations. Although Tirana has dropped that demand, it is clearly expecting Bonn to treat it generously on trade. Alex Wachsmuth was in Tirana for the German newsagency, *dpa*.

The formal establishment of diplomatic relations with Albania means that Bonn now has representation in every country in Europe.

But the agreement is much more than that. It is another step in a desirable extension of international relations by a country which has consistently denied charges from both East and West that its isolation has been self-imposed.

Albanian leader Ramiz Alia, who in 1985 succeeded Enver Hoxha, the legendary founder of modern Albania, said a few months ago in a public speech that Albania needs external relations to carry on building socialism, to consolidate its domestic position and for its external security.

His small, Marxist fundamentalist Balkan country already has diplomatic relations with more than 100 countries and trade ties with still more.

The only country with which it is still on bad terms is neighbouring Yugoslavia. The two are having a heated dispute over the Albanian minority in the Yugoslav border province of Kosovo.

The longstanding nominal state of war with Greece was recently ended, and Albania only really refuses to have anything to do with two countries, the superpowers, America and the Soviet Union.

It strongly opposes them both. Hardly a day passes without American "imperialism" and Soviet "social imperialism" coming under fire. The criticism against Moscow is probably even the more strident.

One sign of "opening" is that after roughly 10 years of tough talks Tirana has agreed to abandon what long seemed to be a sine qua non, Albania's demand for the payment of reparations for damage done during the German occupation in the Second World War.

Continued on page 2

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Genscher turns attention from big powers to the Far East

General-Anzeiger

Immediately after the failure of the attempted coup in the Phillipines, Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher telephoned President Aquino to encourage her and her supporters.

Herr Genscher felt President Aquino, under pressure on all sides and fighting on many fronts, was of symbolic importance in Asia and deserved further support not only from individual countries but from the European Community and other groupings.

He was speaking in Bonn about his views on Asia and the Far East.

An opportunity for coordination of German policy on Asia with the Asean countries, of which the Philippines is one, arose with the visit to Bonn by the Foreign Minister of Singapore, Mr Rajaratnam.

Asean is worried about domestic instability and the communist guerrilla threat in the Philippines and it is discussing with the United States, Japan and Europe support programmes for Manila.

The Asean countries are holding a mid-December summit conference in Manila to mark the 20th anniversary of the pact's foundation.

This gathering is intended as a gesture of support for President Aquino — despite scepticism about her leadership by the military in Indonesia and Thailand and the hard-nosed, pragmatic Chinese leadership of Singapore.

The general opinion is that President Aquino is not tough enough, that she is tolerating nepotism and is frittering away her energy by trying to do too many things at once.

Bonn knows that a special situation prevails in the Philippines, a country with a long history of Spanish colonial rule and Japanese and US occupation and influence.

The Philippines is a country where politics can be assessed in terms of neither a pragmatic Chinese approach nor a levelheaded Anglo-Saxon outlook.

Herr Genscher sees the situation in the predominantly Roman Catholic Philippines after the ouster of President Marcos as comparable with that in Spain after Franco's death or in Portugal after the 1974 revolution.

Other European countries, the Foreign Office argues, lent political and economic support to the Iberian countries in this post-authoritarian, transitional phase and so contributed toward their stability and democratisation.

A similar task now faced them in the Philippines.

Herr Genscher has in mind close coordination with Japan, which has plans of its own to support the Philippines and intends to outline at the mid-December Manila Asean summit details of a development aid programme for the Philippines totalling several billion dollars.

Herr Genscher also notes that China and the Asean countries are keenly interested in strong European economic and political commitments in the region, especially German commitments, to help ensure political balance and stability.

As one Asian ambassador in Bonn puts it: "The Americans have the legacy of Vietnam in the Far East, the British and French their colonial past, the Japanese their war guilt. The Germans for once have no such legacy and would do well to make the best of their opportunities."

Herr Genscher, who is strongly in favour of strengthening regional political pacts and their cooperation with the European Community (both Asean and regional cooperation in South America and the Persian Gulf), would be able in December not only to attend the Asean summit but also to pay the Philippines a bilateral visit and show the flag.

Other Euro-Asian strategies require coordination. They include policy toward Vietnam, where Hanoi is keen to see an opening and busy sowing seeds of discord.

At the Foreign Office Bonn is said to favour the idea of meeting Vietnam half-way economically in its process of transformation, but the German government would prefer to confer with Vietnam's Asean neighbours before embarking on moves of its own.

Bonn sees no alternative to the plucky President Aquino in Manila. Premier Nakasone of Japan is considering attending the Asean summit as a guest observer. A number of other Asian issues with a bearing on Germany have also hit the headlines with the visit to Bonn by East German leader Erich Honecker. In this connection the Hong Kong *South China Morning Post* recalled in a leading article the problems of Bengalis in West Bengal and Bangladesh, of the divided Indian sub-continent, of North and South Korea and of China and Taiwan. What the Hong Kong leader-writer referred to as the German art of "mixing fire and water" is being closely followed in the Far East.

Peter Seidlitz
(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 16 September 1987)



Israeli visitor

Israel's Defence Minister, Yitzhak Rabin (left) and Bonn Defence Minister Manfred Wörner in Bonn. Rabin held wide-ranging talks with senior Bonn politicians. (Photo: ...)

Beginning of the beginning

Continued from page 1

Since Mr Alia took over as party leader and head of state, this demand has progressively become more pragmatic.

The extent to which Bonn has obliged Tirana in economic terms is not yet known — other than that there can have been no question of loans or credit facilities — the Albanian constitution expressly prohibits foreign debts.

Bonn has agreed to makeshift accommodation in a Tirana hotel because nothing else was available. This appeared to be the last — and temporary — obstacle to the agreement.

Germans, like other nationals, will still not be allowed to travel to Albania as private tourists, although a limited number of groups are allowed to stay at hotels on the fine Adriatic beach at Durres.

The authorities are keen not to overexpose the Albanian public to the temptations posed by the sight of Western visitors and their consumer goods.

Albania, population 2.8 million, has mainly exported chromium ore to the Federal Republic. Ore and vegetable shipments totalled DM83.6m last year.

Albania exported goods worth DM6.2m more than it imported from the Federal Republic. In Bonn, it has a fine reputation for promptly settling bills.

The total isolation of a few years ago has been gradually eased, and a limited number of group tours are permitted. Sporting visits are again allowed, and German journalists have lately been granted occasional visas.

After the Second World War Albania became a communist-style people's republic, but resigned from the Warsaw Pact in 1955 and sided with China in the 1960s dispute between Moscow and Peking.

After the death of Mao Tse-tung and the ouster of the "Gang of Four" Tirana severed ties with China. Since Enver Hoxha's death Albania has increasingly sought to strengthen ties with Western countries.

Alex Wachsmuth/dpa
(Mannheimer Morgen, 16 September 1987)

Bonn goes for the third kidnap option

When Hoechst executive Rudolf Cordes and Siemens technician Alfred Schmidt were kidnapped in Lebanon last January it looked as though Bonn had only two options.

It must either exchange the two German hostages for a Lebanese terrorist suspect in German custody, Mohammed Hamadei, or run the risk of the two men being killed by their captors.

Now Herr Schmidt has been released it looks like there may be a third way after all. Bonn is busy severing the knot without abandoning constitutional principles. This new departure is the result of a combination of factors, but mainly of diplomacy.

Unlike other Western powers, the Federal Republic cannot, in this hostage affair, use either military muscle or spectacular arms shipments.

It must patiently rely on powers of persuasion and can at best offer credit facilities such as appear to have been made to Syria. This approach has been adopted toward Teheran and Damascus, Bonn being convinced that martial gestures will fail to have the required effect.

If Herr Cordes' release can also be secured, the Federal Republic will have demonstrated to its allies that its approach to terrorism works — even though its efficacy may at times have been doubted.

The Americans will keep the closest of eyes on Bonn, Washington being convinced that Hamadei hijacked a US airliner and was partly to blame for the murder of a passenger who was a US citizen. The Hamadei trial will be a test of the climate of relations within the West. There must be not even the appearance of connivance.

In retrospect the German decision in June not to hand Hamadei over to the US authorities has been vindicated.

Bonn's stand on this point seems to have convinced the kidnappers, if their two statements are any guide, that the Federal Republic was not simply toeing the US line.

That is a far cry from previous assertions, and the Federal Republic is in the process of building up a degree of confidence in the Middle East, which is tricky terrain by any yardstick. In particular, Bonn's policy of strict neutrality in the Gulf War is paying dividends. But care must be taken to avoid any impression of complicity.

Gerhard von Glinski
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 11 September 1987)

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■ HOME AFFAIRS



The alleged target . . . Björn Engholm. (Photo: Sven Simon)

Spiegelgate: is it a Press or a political scandal?

The weekly news-magazine, *Der Spiegel*, published an article this month just before the Schleswig-Holstein *Land* election in which it alleged that the state's Premier, Uwe Barschel, had ordered a member of his campaign team, Reiner Pfeiffer, to try and dig up information to discredit the Social Democrat's leader in the election, Björn Engholm. The magazine based the article on information given it by Pfeiffer. Barschel said the allegations were untrue. Here, Theo Sommer, the editor of *Die Zeit*, looks at the case and some of its more curious aspects.

After the election eve *Spiegel* revelations people all over Germany are waiting with bated breath to see who is telling the truth: Schleswig-Holstein Premier Uwe Barschel or his alleged undercover election agent Reiner Pfeiffer.

Was the Hamburg newsweekly's north German Watergate story as remote from the truth as the forged Hitler diaries bought by *Stern* magazine?

Or can *Der Spiegel* claim, as a watchdog of democracy, to have exposed yet another den of dirty tricks in German politics?

In other words, is it a fresh political scandal or a fresh Press scandal? As yet, it's anyone's guess. Conclusive evidence has yet to be presented and valid doubts can be voiced in any direction.

Is Premier Barschel as pure as the driven snow, a man unfairly hounded by the Press? Or has he been caught out?

He certainly did hire Reiner Pfeiffer, a CDU propagandist with a dubious track record, as a campaign consultant. He had to dissociate himself from Herr Pfeiffer's last election broadsheet because it was so underhand and libellous.

And he can hardly deny that Schleswig-Holstein has been the scene of some appalling goings-on, with Opposition leader Björn Engholm's private life being snooped on and the secrecy of his income tax returns breached.

Herr Barschel claims not to have had anything to do with this cheapskate imitation of detective fiction. He says Herr Pfeiffer's claim to have been acting under his orders is a lie.

Yet his reaction was strangely halfhearted. He did not apply for a court order to stop distribution of the *Spiegel* issue containing the disputed article.

He did not apply for an injunction against repetition of the allegations. Neither did he file a suit calling on *Der Spiegel* either to retract or not to repeat the allegations.

In short, he undertook no relevant legal action where it mattered: in Hamburg, where the magazine is based. He also failed to make an immediate public appearance to answer questions to which an immediate answer was possible.

None of these points can be classified as evidence indicating his guilt, but they are irritating signs of weakness, and they have triggered uncertainty even among people who would like to believe Herr Barschel.

Herr Pfeiffer himself cuts a dubious figure. He is clearly a man for the rough rather than the smooth, a man with a chequered past, with alcohol and financial problems and a conscience as erratic as a defective geiger counter.

He had no qualms about the dirtytricks he says he was instructed by Herr Barschel to carry out. He was less enthusiastic about capitalising on Herr Barschel's tragic plane crash (to which one can only reply that it really wasn't capitalised on).

He only really felt pangs of conscience when the original *Spiegel* story hit the newsstands.

Did he want to redirect growing suspicions from himself to the man on whose instructions he claims to have been acting? Or was it an attempt to implicate the Premier in what he had been doing on his own account?

Did he make his allegations because he had carried out too drastically and in too brutal, Mafia-like a manner his general instructions to cast aspersions at the CDU's state assembly election campaign opponents?

Was it a last-ditch attempt to make out that he had been acting under orders and now had qualms of conscience? In other words, was he a guided missile or a rogue flying object?

No-one can yet say for sure. All that *is* sure is that he seems to have had a hand in some of the dirtiest political tricks ever resorted to in the Federal Republic.

Not since the Swiss informer who claimed to have identified General Kiessling of the Bundeswehr (and Nato) as a homosexual does there seem to have been a dirtier, more dubious witness to a scandal that seems sure to shake the country to its foundations.

This is the point at which *Der Spiegel* comes in for criticism. Its cover story title, "Barschel's Dirty Tricks," made out to be an established fact what could only be said to be Herr Pfeiffer's version of the story.

The magazine's night lawyers naturally made sure that the story contained constant reminders that it was all only on Pfeiffer's say-so, but the cover conveyed an entirely different impression. A misleading one.

Der Spiegel based its entire story on a single witness's allegations. It dispensed with any further legwork, let alone with any indication that its witness was less than trustworthy on the basis of his chequered past.

That is hardly an honest approach to the story. Why should a shady character hired by Uwe Barschel in Kiel be as pure as the driven snow when interviewed by the Hamburg magazine?

Last but not least, *Spiegel* proprietor Rudolf Augstein's editorial staff failed to effectively confront Herr Barschel with the story it was about to print.

They rang the deputy government spokesman in Kiel and appear, if public statements by the magazine's editor are any guide, to have told him an extremely vague story.

Why did *Der Spiegel* not venture into the lion's den and confront Premier Barschel with Herr Pfeiffer's affidavit? It was cowardly not to have done so.

Many critics have accused the magazine of trying to influence the outcome of the state assembly elections. That is somewhat beside the point.



Wrong man, says Uwe Barschel.

If the story had been checked, crosschecked and found to be substantiated, *Der Spiegel* would have been dutybound to break the news when it did.

The timing and tenor of the attack are less heinous than the shaky ground on which it seems to have been based.

Investigative journalism presupposes a modicum of investigation. The magazine seems to have fallen short of this requirement.

In the heat of the chase it neglected professional standards.

That is bound to dismay everyone who feels the cleansing effect of *Der Spiegel* on German public life is wholesome and indispensable.

The allegations levelled at Herr Barschel may not be proven and he may still have to step down as Premier.

Maybe Herr Pfeiffer, a proven liar, was this time telling the truth.

Maybe *Der Spiegel* was negligent but basically right in its assessment of the story.

No-one can yet say who will end up as the hero and who as the villain of the piece. Maybe there will be no heroes.

Theo Sommer
(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 18 September 1987)

The unloved man behind the allegations

Reiner Pfeiffer, 48, who claims to have been Schleswig-Holstein Premier Uwe Barschel's dirty tricks man, once planned to become a clergyman. He went to a Franciscan school.

Later, he became a Christian Democrat campaigner in Bremen before being fired by them.

Then he earned a living as a funeral speaker and helped his wife in their ice cream parlour in his spare time.

Few people now want anything to do with him. Yet they used to be able to trust him not to lie directly, but to arrange the facts in a convenient light.

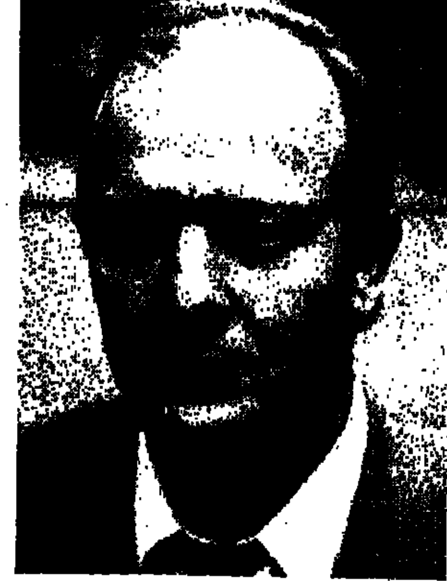
He had a reputation for being a terrier who snapped at every postman's shins, a man ever ready to take a pot shot at the party's political opponents.

He started his career as a public relations man and journalist in the Ruhr, once working for the *Westfälische Rundschau* when it was still SPD-owned.

Then he moved to Bremen, where he first worked in public relations for Erno, the space research division of Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm (in those days still VFW).

He proved so useful that Bernd Neumann, CDU leader in the Bremen city council, hired him as spokesman in 1976 and editor of the CDU broadsheet, *Weser-Report*, two years later.

Pfeiffer was in his element. He transformed a sleepy Sunday newspaper financed entirely by advertising revenue into a fighting campaign paper.



Gourmet and fixer . . . Reiner Pfeiffer (Photo: dpa)

Yet he never forgot his good manners and was a welcome figure in Bremen's high society. He was well dressed and a gourmet, eating at high-class restaurants and making a name as a connoisseur of food and drink.

He was keen on sport, organising road races and buying two racehorses for *Weser-Report* readers (they bought shares in them).

He once ran the 5,000 metres in just under 17 minutes (the world record is just under 13 minutes). But his standards were less exacting where the truth was concerned. In 1983 the Bremen high court found him guilty and fined him for a concocted story about a woman social worker who was alleged to go in for communist indoctrination of juveniles under the influence of drink.

In 1979 he published a pamphlet about SPD Housing and Public Works Senator Hans Stefan Seifriz, who had written an anti-Semitic newspaper article as a Hitler youth.

Seifriz was forced to resign just before the state assembly elections. Pfeiffer had standards of his own when it came to journalistic good taste.

He certainly had to print more statutory rejoinders in the wake of complaints against the *Weser-Report* than ever before.

He resigned from the Bremen branch of the Journalists' Association just in time to avoid being expelled.

He was first fired by CDU leader Neumann, then by the *Weser-Report*, which was worried it might otherwise lose a generous advertiser. His erstwhile

Continued on page 4

■ PEOPLE IN POLITICS

New man to coordinate relations with USA

Mainz political scientist Werner Weidenfeld, who is to take over as Bonn government coordinator of relations with the United States, has been making regular television appearances.

In one appearance, he was questioned about the visit to Bonn by East Berlin party leader Erich Honecker.

His answers were competent. They were not straightforward, but neither were they dry and remote. They were a combination of vigilance and composure that is the keynote of a new generation of German academics skilled at making public appearances.

His style of delivery is distinctive. He raises his voice at the end of a sentence as though he were both reinforcing his statement and briefly opening a window of malicious expectation, of anticipation without the slightest trace of complacency.

He conveys an impression of reassuring composure. He is balding but his voice is deep and his features well-kept, mature and distinguished.

You might thing he is 50 or so. You would be wrong. He is just over 40 — he was always a young man in a hurry.

He completed his PhD on Stresemann's foreign policy toward Britain at 24, wrote the second PhD required of German university teachers at 28 (on German policy toward Europe in the Adenauer era) and was promptly appointed professor of political science at Mainz University.

He is active in teaching and research, has an impressive list of published work, chairs a number of committees, works on publishing and government projects, is a government adviser, a visiting professor at the Sorbonne (from 1986 to 1988) and newspaper contributor, as readers of *Rheinischer Merkur/ Christ und Welt* will know and appreciate.

Only a man well-versed in discipline can possibly combine all these activities without losing his engaging composure.

Professor Weidenfeld is lent every encouragement by his wife, Gabriele Kokott-Weidenfeld, a law professor at Koblenz University and member of the Rhineland-Palatinate state assembly.

When he takes over as coordinator of German-American relations (the Foreign Office will officially announce his appointment on 1 October), he will be taking on a further activity of enormous extra responsibility.

Transatlantic ties are not at their best. The bedrock of German-American goodwill is sorely tested by topical disputes.

The two seaboards are eyeing each other part unawares, part indignant — as though each had only just discovered the special features of its own political culture.

A combination of the utmost circumspection and empathy is needed to mediate and to work on a new groundwork of understanding. Efforts are further burdened by the vicissitudes of political developments.

Traditionally, governments seek men for such appointments from the ranks of the foreign service or distinguished parliamentarians such as Professor Weidenfeld's predecessors.

The first coordinator, appointed in 1981, was Free Democratic MP Hildegard Hamm-Brücher. The last coordinator was state secretary Berndt von Staden.

Both, the parliamentarian and the diplomat, are committed and experienced personalities and set exacting standards.

Since April 1986, when Herr von Staden retired, the post has been vacant and battles have been fought behind the scenes over one candidate or another.

That in itself is hardly surprising. The post does not just entail great responsibility, it also enjoys considerable prestige.

The decision in favour of Professor Weidenfeld, a leading political scientist and specialist in current affairs, was a move on which the Chancellor's Office can but be congratulated. It has much in common with two other recent appointments on which the authorities are to be congratulated, that of Michael Stürmer as head of the *Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik* in Ebenhausen, near Munich, and of Hartmut Lehmann as head of the newly-established German history institute in Washington, D.C.

Professor Weidenfeld's bonuses are not only the reputation of his academic work and the verve of his relative youth but also, and in particular, the way in which he has earned his reputation.

He has dealt mainly with European affairs and the German question rather than with US and transatlantic studies.

His prevailing interests are indicated by titles such as "The Identity of the Germans," "Reflections on Germany," "The Identity of Europe" and, published this year, his "Historic Awareness of the Germans."

A collection of his essays entitled *Los alemanes en Europa* has just been read with keen interest in Spain and Latin America.

Werner Weidenfeld is a German and European mediator in international academic circles. He has always seen America as Europe's political sheet-anchor.

As a frequent visitor to the United States in constant contact with the German section at the US State Department he is a familiar figure on both sides of the Atlantic.

Relations with America must nowadays be handled by a convinced and convincing European. This is the framework in which bilateral ties will best flourish.

It is also the reason why Professor Weidenfeld as a candidate for the post of coordinator was uniformly endorsed at the Foreign Office, the Chancellor's Office and the President's Office.

This endorsement is sure to weigh heavily in helping to ensure that his work will prove efficient.

He plans to concentrate on what he calls political culture. Who, for instance, is in charge of Germany- and Europe-watching at leading US universities?


Vigilance and composure . . . Werner Weidenfeld (Photo:

Who is in charge of monitoring German and European affairs in the US media?

And, closer to home, what use are we making of the stationing of US servicemen and their families in Germany to promote mutual understanding?

He will have an immediate opportunity of presenting his plans in the United States now that Congress has declared October 6 German Day.

In mid-October he will lecture to the German Studies Association in St Louis, Missouri, on "The Germans in Europe" — an innocent-sounding yet volatile topic.

Those who have heard and read Weidenfeld and enjoyed his good-humoured work as a critic will feel sure the presentation of Germany in the United States is in good hands.

The Americans are sure to welcome as a familiar trait his cheerful self-confidence.

Thomas Kielinger

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 18 September 1987)

Continued from page 3

benefactors now saw him as a deadweight. Yet, oddly enough, Neumann kept him on as *Weser-Report* editor years after firing him as CDU spokesman, and his services as chief reporter were retained for years after he was sacked as editor.

Bernd Neumann now says that if the Christian Democrats in Kiel had asked him whether they should take Pfeiffer on he would have warned them in the strongest terms that his integrity was doubtful.

Yet in his day Pfeiffer suited Bremen's Christian Democrats down to the ground with his penchant for convenient scandals. Skilful, unscrupulous and with his wits about him, his task was to teach the Social Democrats a lesson in their Bremen bastion. His employers were prepared to accept almost any move with this aim in mind. Scandalmonger Pfeiffer is now a scandal in his own right.

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 18 September 1987)

A Bavarian commissioner for Brussels

Peter Schmidhuber's Bavarian accent calls to mind a freshly-pulled pint of best Oktoberfest beer. Yet the new German commissioner in Brussels is anything but a stereotype Bavarian.

He is not given to pushing himself into the foreground. He is a thinker, at times given to brooding. He seldom shows off his wide-ranging education yet looks the picture of a sensitive intellectual.

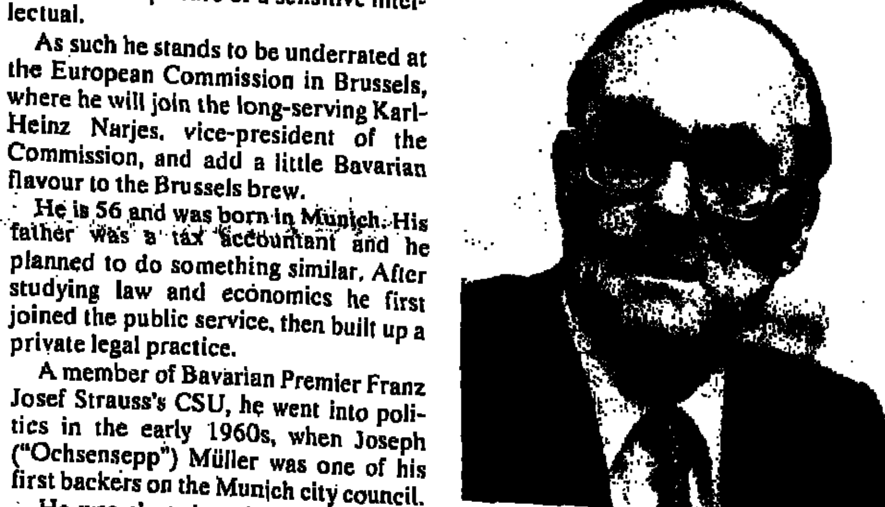
As such he stands to be underrated at the European Commission in Brussels, where he will join the long-serving Karl-Heinz Narjes, vice-president of the Commission, and add a little Bavarian flavour to the Brussels brew.

He is 56 and was born in Munich. His father was a tax accountant and he planned to do something similar. After studying law and economics he first joined the public service, then built up a private legal practice.

A member of Bavarian Premier Franz Josef Strauss's CSU, he went into politics in the early 1960s, when Joseph ("Ochsensepp") Müller was one of his first backers on the Munich city council.

He was elected to the Bonn Bundestag in 1965, serving until 1969. Re-elected from 1972 to 1978, he made a reputation as a hard worker in the economic affairs committee.

In 1978 he was elected to the Bavarian state assembly and appointed a member of Herr Strauss's first Bavarian Cabinet, since when, as Minister for Federal Affairs, he has been Bavaria's man in Bonn.


Brooding thinker . . . Peter Schmidhuber. (Photo: dpa)

His work has been far from merely decorative at the universally popular Bavarian bureau in Bonn.

He may now seem to have been predestined for a career in Bonn and Brussels. His name was certainly mooted for one of the two German commissioners in Brussels in 1984.

Last year, when Bavaria opened a Brussels office, he became Bavaria's commissioner for European Community affairs.

One reason why the bureau was opened was that a member of the CSU, CDU Chancellor Kohl's Bavarian allies, had never been a German member of the European Commission in Brussels.

When Social Democrat Alois Pfeiffer, a former trade union leader, died after lengthy illness on 1 August, the vacant post in Brussels provided Herr Strauss with a long-awaited opportunity of sending a CSU man to the European Commission, with which Bavaria has so often had misunderstandings.

Herr Schmidhuber can fairly claim to be competent to take over Herr Pfeiffer's responsibilities — for economic and regional affairs and the Community's statistics office. Whether his work in Brussels will live up to great Bavarian expectations is another matter.

He is sure to sense the growing malaise in relations between Brussels and Bonn which now differ on issues ranging from agricultural policy to regional development, from the Community's constant budget deficit to its research policy.

The European Commission has come under particularly trenchant criticism from Munich. Yet European commissioners cannot work wonders, and Herr Schmidhuber will soon learn that his opportunities of bringing about change where they are needed are strictly limited.

Peter Hort

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 17 September 1987)

■ PERSPECTIVE

Americans and Germans: four points of view

Three people that have made recent German history and illustrate the changes it has gone through are Adolf Hitler, Konrad Adenauer and Willy Brandt.

They all have one thing in common: they have been named *Time* magazine's Man of the Year: Hitler in 1938, Adenauer in 1953 and Brandt in 1970.

This changing face is one aspect of a book by Professor Frank Trommler, of the University of Philadelphia.

Many might have an initial attitude of scepticism when they realise that this huge tome (698 pages) is a long string of lectures delivered at the university to commemorate the landing of the first 13 families who left Krefeld for the new land in 1683.

The collection, called *Amerika und die Deutschen*, attempts a stock-taking of this 300-year old relationship. Despite whatever reservations people may have, the book is worth reading.

The actual result of the lectures, which at first seem to be randomly thrown together, is staggering. This carefully edited and illustrated book reveals itself as probably unique, an extraordinarily multi-facetted compilation of contributions to American-German history. Practically every contribution illuminates a special aspect or opens new insights.

Whoever is prepared to make the effort to read the short articles will get a colourful impression of America and its German immigrants. The volume is much more than a mere history book. It highlights lines of development which reach up to the present day.

The last three centuries have seen the arrival of millions of Germans in America. They left because of economic hardship, religious intolerance or political persecution.

In the second half of the 19th century a quarter of the population of Chicago was German. Between 1820 and 1980 seven million went to America. Every fourth American can claim German ancestry, even when only five per cent of the grand children of German grand parents can speak German.

There is no doubt that Germans have made important contributions to the development of this multi-ethnic continent. German beer for instance, which is pulled cold in a watered down version of the original serves as a well known example.

However despite their numbers, the Germans have never played an important role in politics. Even the German language, which has been kept alive, often by considerable effort, has over the centuries lost its power. This was the price paid for being assimilated, which many Germans as well as other nationalities, willingly paid or were forced to pay. Meanwhile, beginning at turn of this century, America developed a fear of foreign influence. This has given rise to the view that America has reached its capacity for taking in and assimilating new currents of immigrants. Though despite everything she still remains a relatively tolerant country to emigrate to.

Examples of intoleration, such as anti-German feeling during the first world war, which made it dangerous to speak German, and the internment of Japanese immigrants during the second, belong to the darker side of the American immigration experience.

But such examples which took place against a background of world war, have remained the exception rather than the rule. The attitude of many Germans remains to this day somewhat ambivalent. Hitler for example regarded Americans as simpletons — perhaps such a statement could be expected from a man like him.

But negative views were prevalent also among more respectable people. The great German poet Heinrich Heine said, "Their religion is the exploitation of the world and money is their god."

Even Sigmund Freud, who was honoured by Americans, gruffly said "America is a mistake, undoubtedly a gigantic one, but nevertheless a mistake."

This goes to show that even highly educated men were also prepared to accept prevailing cliches.

Many Americans have difficulty coming to terms with the "Krauts." But this is more understandable when one considers the size of the country and the fact that it has enough problems on its plate without having to think about Germany.

Today America and Germany are connected by a rather distant relationship. The evidence shows that there have always been ups and downs.

But current works from Wolfram Hanrieder and Fritz Stern it has been elaborately worked out, that the interests of the superpower America and the medium-sized power of West Germany have diverged widely even if strong bonds still bind the two together.

According to Hanrieder the recent dispute over the medium-range missiles showed that the consensus about the character and intensity of the Soviet threat is no longer there.

Hanrieder described aptly the nature of the German paradox. The West Germans, he said, "seem simultanously to be afraid that the Americans might use atomic weapons and also that they might not."

Fritz Stern points out that the German destiny is directly linked to the German-Russian relationship in a manner which many Americans don't understand.

At the same time it's true to say, as Frank Trommler, sympathetically put it. The new national or European conception of itself is developing out of a distancing of itself from America but not to Russia. America's closeness determines its distance.

Whoever would like to know more about what Americans think about Germans, and isn't afraid of taking up a heavy academic text, will find highly unflattering findings in a compilation called *Amerikaner über Deutschland und die Deutschen*, by the Tübingen researchers Kurt Stapf, Wolfgang Stroebe and Klaus Jonas.

They investigated the views of American students on Germany and found that Germans are not all too popular. Both West and East Germans are rated in the bottom third on an international popularity scale.

Those interviewed admitted that the Germans worked hard, were efficient and family orientated. But on the other hand they tended to lack passion, be not open in attitudes and to lack a zest for life.

Certainly the authors found it not very flattering to have West Germans placed next to the Russians, the Poles and the East Germans as the people with the least *joie de vivre*.

Whether American students are representative of American public opinion in general remains an open question. But such opinions are a cause for worry, even if they do not happen to agree with one's own experience.

Many political observers have become afraid that America could turn away from Europe and towards the Pacific Basin. In view of the still close relationship between Germany and the USA, that might appear to be a somewhat rash judgement. The fact is that the make-up of the immigrants has changed. And that could play a decisive role in determining where American interests are.

This is pointed out in Donata Elschenbroich's new, in parts very subjective book, *Eine Nation von Einwandern*.

To date 84 per cent of recent immigrants have come from South America and Asia. In the sixties 62 per cent came from Europe. This trend can only weaken the European component in The US.

The author, who is employed at the the German Institute for Youth in Munich, gives America a good report card for the way it treats its immigrants.

At the same time she takes into account discrimination, especially against ethnic minorities. But she goes on to point out the successful efforts which have been made for their legal and political assimilation.

Even in Reagan's America the quota system has been by no means abolished as an emergency measure to alleviate the disadvantages of minorities.

Donata Elschenbroich compares the self confidence of the US with the "against our will" mentality of West Germans towards immigration.

What it means to be an immigrant in Germany is not so clear. In her book she says that American mainstream society is more flexible. German mainstream society in comparison, is as rigid as concrete.

One may be in disagreement with her opinion about West German attitudes to immigrants. But one would have to agree with her that American behaviour towards the newly arrived has many positive characteristics.

Many Germans have themselves profited from the US's attitude to immigration. That's not to say that American attitudes have always been the best.

Professor David Wyman, lecturer in history at the university of Massachusetts, deals in his book, *Das unerwünschte Volk*, with a dark episode in American immigration history.

The author, who is a staunch friend of Israel, has written with bitterness about America and the destruction of European Jews.

He has devastatingly condemned the Roosevelt government for not helping the Jews against the pilfering of the Nazis. America he said, "was the traditional

Continued on page 6

Amerika und die Deutschen. Bestandsaufnahme einer 300jährigen Geschichte. by Frank Trommler, Westdeutscher Verlag, Opladen. 698pp. DM64. *Amerikaner über Deuschland und die Deutschen*, by Kurt H. Stapf, Wolfgang Stroebe and Klaus Jonas, Westdeutscher Verlag, Opladen. 184pp. DM27.80. *Eine Nation von Einwandern. Ethnisches Bewusstsein und Integrationspolitik in den USA*. by Donata Elschenbroich, Campus Verlag, Frankfurt-am-Main. 253pp. DM28. *Das unerwünschte Volk. Amerika und die Vernichtung europäischer Juden. (The Abandonment of the Truth. America and the Holocaust, 1941-45)* by David S. Wyman, Verlag Max Hueber, Ismaning. 587pp. DM39.80.

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■ FINANCE

Warning sign that inflation is once again lurking in the shadows

RHEINISCHER MERKUR

The cover of the British weekly, *The Economist*, showed a green ghost with blood-red eyes and huge, sharp teeth dripping with saliva.

The headline proclaims, in the best horror-film poster style: "The return of INFLATION". Underneath the plug promises: "Coming Soon To A Country Near You."

What grounds did the magazine have for running its lurid cover? We think of ourselves as in a refuge of stability with an inflation rate that should be under one per cent this year. Last year prices fell slightly.

There is no reason either to shudder with fear after having taken a look at our neighbours. The average inflation rate in Europe this year, as last year, should remain at 2.9 per cent. In some countries, Spain and Norway for instance, the rate has even dropped.

Several other countries have more stable prices than for a long time.

But there are warning signs. In the first six months of his year consumer prices in the USA increased by 5.5 per cent compared with the same period last year. The upward curve has not been so steep since 1982.

The latest analysis from the Ifo Institute, Munich, shows that the inflation potential in several other countries has increased. In Britain consumer prices should rise 4.5 per cent this year — in 1986 inflation was 3.4 per cent. The steep upward trend of prices shows that home-grown inflation is having its full effect.

To this can be added the increased costs of imports because of devalued sterling. The recovery of the pound's exchange rate since the beginning of this year has not yet balanced out the exchange rate losses of 1986.

According to the Ifo Institute predictions France is also not safe from inflation. Prices in France will increase by 3.5 per cent this year.

In Italy prices are increasing at between 4.5 and five per cent. Prices for imports and domestic products are accelerating — the latter mainly because of wage agreements.

The OECD, also less than optimistic about the economic outlook, has confirmed these observations. "By and large the inflation outlook in most countries is satisfactory, but it has slightly worsened."

The school report would read: "not too good, must do better."

There is no doubt that the Federal Republic is better off, but the country's grade of "very good" is in danger.

The absolute stability of the past year is the result of cheap oil and the consequences of lower import prices due to the cheap dollar.

This conceals an "internal inflation rate," which the Bundesbank estimates to be from 1.5 to two per cent.

The fact that the dollar exchange rate is relatively stable and the oil price swings from between 18 dollars and 20 dollars a barrel is having its effect.

The experts calculate that this year the inflation rate will be about one per cent, which is realistic, and two per cent for next year.

The Bonn government expects to be able to maintain this rate until 1991. That is an ambitious goal. Achieving it will depend on many factors which the government and the Bundesbank can only partly influence.

It is like a house of cards. Only one card needs to be removed and the whole house tumbles down.

The exchange rate is the most difficult to predict. Since the Louvre Agreement made by the finance ministers and the central banks of the most important western countries the currency situation has, indeed, beome calmer, but beneath the surface things are seething.

The Americans fear that their foreign trade and budget deficits will either result in increased interest rates or a further drop in the dollar exchange rate.

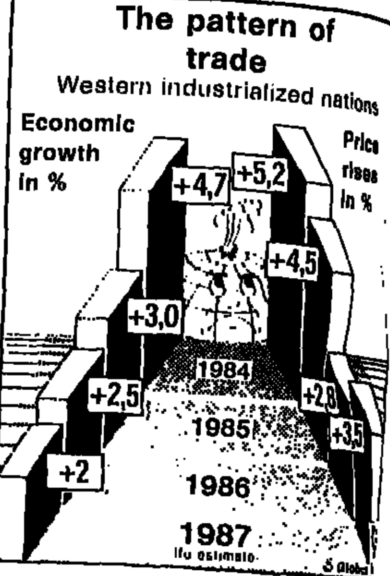
In the past few months the Americans have manifestly bought more goods for cash than the cash they have available. The low savings-income ratio dropped and borrowing increased.

The stronge inclination to buy favours imports so that from this aspect the dollar is again under pressure.

Interest rates are also dependent on the currency situation and it seems that this has got over the worst.

Bankers know that "the dollar's capers make it difficult to predict interest rates," so there is considerable uncertainty about assessing whether the latest slight interest rate increase is a sign of a change in the trend or whether it is only an interest rate hiccup.

There is much to indicate that the Bundesbank will pull on the interest rate reins, not least to keep a sharper eye on the monetary growth target.



An expansion of six per cent at most is envisaged for the money supply this year, but it is in fact coming up to eight to 8.5 per cent. The goal was exceeded last year as well.

Experts disagree here. Many, such as Wolfgang Röller, the Bundesbank president, say that monetary growth is not to be compared with growing inflation potential.

Professor Achim Zink says "the calm in prices should not encourage monetary carelessness."

Foreign competitors can sell cheaply, which is making it tough for Germans to hike their prices and increase profits.

The pressure to attempt this increases. Raw material prices are no longer rock bottom and energy costs, both for oil and electricity, are rising.

Luckily, wage talks this year have reached an agreement spreading over several years in the key metal and chemicals industries. The key data for wage agreements have been more or less firmly established up to 1990.

Labour costs will increase by a good four per cent. This plus a shorter working week, agreed in the last round, is also inflationary because higher productivity cannot totally balance this out.

A further, and not entirely unimportant, uncertainty, financing tax reform will depend very much on how the government goes about this.

Claus Köhler, of the Bundesbank, said: "Raising four or five billion marks extra on the capital market is not so crucial."

But with interest rate developments in mind he added: "Much more crucial is that the situation should be clarified which is what the market has been waiting for."

An increase of value-added tax would have an immediate effect on prices.

It would be absurd if Bonn were to throw the door wide open to inflation because it was unable to stamp down on subsidies.

The government has been forced to adopt policies which appear to run counter to its declared aims.

Theo Mönch-Tegeder

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 4 September 1987)

Continued from page 5

land of the persecuted and repressed. But we let the Nazi murderers have their way." Wyman maintains that several hundred thousand could have survived if the goverment hadn't shown negligence and carelessness in their handling of the matter. The author has pointed out the negligence of American Jews too.

In his book he says that the holocaust was certainly a Jewish tragedy. But also a Christian tragedy for Western civilization. People were murdered while others just looked on. Wyman closes his stirring book, which makes use of new sources, on a sarcastic note. The European Jews he writes, "were neither Americans or Englishmen. It was tough luck for them that they were not only foreigners but Jews of all people."

Even this episode is part of American immigration history. A part of history, about which the Germans have the least right to point an accusing finger.

Wolfgang Borgmann

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 17 September 1987)

Correction

In the 13 September edition, on page 6 under the headline "Small savers still sceptical about the stock market", the sentence in the right-hand column referring to a self-fed boom should have read: "There are two aspects to the answer. Fundamentally it is possible to have a 'self-fed' boom or a strong downward movement in a flexible network of financial markets." We apologise for the confusion.

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■ CONSUMER PROTECTION



A campaigning magazine exposes NaLs and begins to show its teeth



DIE ZEIT

Öko-Test magazine's latest issue says that most toothpastes contain a substance called sodium lauryl sulphate which damages the teeth by attacking the gums.

The monthly magazine, which has run stories on poison in baby ointment and radioactivity in organic and whole foods, first appeared in April 1985 and has built its circulation up to 75,000. It is developing into a competent consumer newspaper.

The article on toothpaste comes hot on the heels of reports that worms had been found in fish being sold in fish shops.

The toothpaste story began in a television magazine called *Monitor* and has been followed up by *Öko*. The findings in both papers are based on the work of an applied environmental research institute in Cologne which made a name for itself with a best-selling book called *Chemicals in Food*.

The substance in toothpaste is sodium lauryl sulphate, NaLs for short. It is a foaming detergent which is also found in detergents and washing-up liquids.

There can be little doubt that a certain level of NaLs causes irritation that damages the gums. Makers do not dispute that the stuff is used in nearly all brands of toothpaste.

It is said to help an even distribution during brushing, making it easier to clean teeth in parts it is difficult to get at.

Environmentalists say this only goes to show that NaLs is aggressive, caustic and harmful.

They say it is simply superfluous and safety levels are not even mentioned. The experts are not clear about what level, in any case, should be "safe."

Manufacturers, however, do admit that two per cent would be a critical concentration. The manufacturers' association admits that two products, Ajona and Merfluan, contain well over this level.

But neither maker is a member of the association, so they are both ideal targets for attack.

The staff at *Öko* are used to disputes of this kind. They publish two tests each month. Testing costs them half a million marks a year.

Günter Berger, one of the two business managers, says the paper gets no government subsidy. It can only keep going because most of the critical reports are based on material supplied by established ecological research institutes where scientists do analytical work for low pay.

This means the magazine can afford to pay the laboratory fees. The editorial staff are only paid DM2,500 a month.

Making mistakes could be expensive. *Öko* can only hope to hold its own against well-equipped industrial laboratories if its figures are accurate, its interpretations correct and the result makes sense to the lay reader.

Manufacturers usually keep their ingredients a close secret. The magazine first commissions a survey. Its findings then indicate whether a test seems likely to yield interesting results. In critical cases, it gets a second opinion.

Öko-Test has not been taken extremely seriously with some of its articles, specifically on nitrates in mineral water, cadmium in seed cake and pesticides in baby ointment. But it doesn't attempt to make mountains out of molehills.Besides, one manufacturer of baby ointment switched supplier rather than sue for damages, then had the new mixture tested for pesticides by the Bremen environmental research institute.

Similarly, hair spray manufacturers have quietly begun to replace a substance that might cause cancer.

Most of the nine *Öko-Test* staff writers' names are known to manufacturers' public relations and research departments. Munich city council distributes free of charge the ecological washing and cleaning assortment recommended by the magazine.

As vinegar and water are obviously not enough to keep the house clean, the magazine runs regular surveys of detergents available for people who are keen to clean and wash in as ecological a manner as possible.

Harmonious and straightforward though this may sound, it is the result of painstaking editorial conferences.

Every vote counts, and voting is a laborious way of arriving at decisions.

The management would not have objected to advertising revenue from a tobacco advert, but the mere announcement that *Öko-Test* was considering the move led to a storm of reader protest.

Most of the editorial staff were opposed to the idea too, so it was reluctantly dropped. A bicycle manufacturer's advertisement was accepted instead, but hopes of a regular extra source of income were soon disappointed.

The first advert led to so many orders being placed with the manufacturer that order books were full for two years. The advert was a tremendous success for the advertiser, who now has a waiting-list as long as Daimler-Benz's, but *Öko-Test* lost an advertiser as a result.

"Health counts, not cash" is the staff's motto, but the magazine is faring surprisingly well financially. Berger hopes it will break even by next year.

Since April 1985 monthly sales have risen to 75,000, and new partners continue to pump cash into the company, which is a limited partnership.

The magazine was launched with partnership funds totalling DM600,000. Partners now number roughly 1,600, their capital investment about DM3m.

When funds ran low last year due to higher test outlay and advertising expenditure, environmentally-conscious friends and supporters chipped in a further DM300,000 in loans.

Staff writer Jürgen Stellpflug sees *Test*, the Berlin monthly published under the auspices of government-backed consumer associations, as the only real competitor in the German market.

Test, a consumer test veteran, is planning to concentrate more on ecological issues.

No other magazine on the German market aims to cater "for the practical, everyday life of city-dwellers keen to find ways of counteracting the growing pollution of our immediate living conditions," to quote the concept for the magazine as drawn up in mid-1984.

A number of organic manufacturers have been hit hard by the *Öko-Test* quest for harmful or superfluous substances in their products.

Stellpflug is sorry for them but says no exceptions can be made. An organic dairy farmer's milk was found to contain the highest level of radioactivity, for instance.

Many a reader of the magazine's bread test will be horrified to learn that wholefood varieties of brown bread are currently league leaders for radioactivity.

Unlike others who aim solely for sensational headlines, *Öko-Test* also welcomes positive trends. Reports that begin on a questioning note usually end less critically than readers expect.

A report on canned tuna fish, for instance, arrived at the conclusion that some brands are better than their reputation.

When condom sales soared, the magazine tested 79 brands — and found none to have serious side-effects.

Öko-Test is keen to progress from being a mouthpiece of the alternative movement and aims to become more professional in outlook.

The original open-plan office has grown too small and new offices have been rented.

In the past every member of staff has had to be able to do everyone else's work. That is to change too.

After lengthy discussion agreement has been reached on hiring a secretary to ease the burden of work on editorial staff.

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 11 September 1987)

Motor industry avoids a testing time

Once every three years washing machine manufacturers anxiously wait for the results of the Warentest Foundation test. Will their models pass?

It is the moment of truth for manufacturers who had hoped to mislead consumers with fashionable design extras and technical bits and pieces predestined for planned obsolescence.

Manufacturers of models rated "good" can say so in advertising. Manufacturers of models rated "unsatisfactory" can expect sales to plummet — nearly all newspapers publish the Warentest findings.

Manufacturers of products ranging from toothpaste and electric drills to razors — consumer goods of all kinds — can expect to come under scrutiny — even services such as matchmakers and undertakers.

Only one industry doesn't get the treatment — the motor industry, which happens to be the country's largest.

If the decision were entirely up to the Warentest Foundation, this would change. But the Motor Manufacturers' Association (VDA) thinks everything is all right without any testing.

Which would mean that while washing machine and toothpaste manufacturers stand to be praised or criticised, Daimler-Benz & Co. will continue to be spared critical scrutiny.

Carmakers have so far successfully vetoed the idea, making use of the Warentest Foundation's statutes, which virtually rule out tests if manufacturers refuse to cooperate.

Before tests can get under way, so-called expert advisory councils must confer on the yardsticks to be used. Industrial representatives must serve on these bodies. So the foundation issued invitations to attend meetings to draw up a concept on which to base tests of motor-cars, but no-one came. Manufacturers wrote to say they were very sorry, but they were otherwise engaged.

A second invitation was equally unsuccessful. In talks with the VDA it transpired that carmakers had no interest whatever in seeing their models consumer-tested.

This dispute has smouldered for two years. Warentest board chairman Roland Hüttenrauch says the VDA, with its rejectionist tactics, is boycotting tests consumers feel are badly needed.

Market research is said to have revealed that consumers mainly missed coverage of cars in the foundation's monthly magazine, *Test*.

VDA's business manager Peter von Manteuffel says consumers would derive scant benefit from such tests. He is convinced the foundation couldn't do a proper job of it.

It has strictly limited funds, he argues, and lacks the resources needed for tests of the dimensions required.

Besides, there is, he says, no need for them. Tests of new car models are innumerable. Which is true enough, as far as it goes.

Hüttenrauch says these arguments don't count. "What we want to do isn't necessarily comparable with other tests," he argues.

Warentest would buy test models from dealers rather than collect them from the works, as is usually the case. Manufacturers naturally supply test models that are top of the class rather than run of the mill.

They tend to outperform showroom models. Experienced test drivers and mechanics say they have been known to include experimental camshafts, for instance.

Expert staff of motoring magazines usually spot the difference. Sports reporters with daily newspapers who double as car testers usually don't.

All journalists are constantly subjected to bribery attempts in all but name. But motoring correspondents are subjected to particularly heavy pressure of this kind.

Manufacturers spare neither effort nor expense to put motoring correspondents in a good mood before they even take to the wheel.

Fiat, for instance, flew a planeload of European journalists to Rio — free of charge, of course — for the presentation of the Fiat Uno.

Carmakers are well aware that test findings crucially depend on the test driver's subjective opinion. They wouldn't be able to influence Warentest test drivers in the usual way.

The foundation's statutes specify that assessments may only be based on objective criteria. Besides, *Test* magazine carries no advertising, so that rules out another means of bringing pressure to bear to upgrade a test rating.

That isn't to say that motoring maga-

Continued on page 9

■ BUSINESS

Pushing to get brand names on the screen

Product placement advertising, placing a branded article in a film or television film in a conspicuous position, is an industry worth at least DM50m a year, say advertising experts.

The film *The Graduate* (1967) was an eye-catching example of this advertising technique. This film was partly financed by product placement.

Alfa Romeo managers pushed through the idea that the main character in the film, Dustin Hoffman, should be constantly on the move in an Alfa Spider.

West German television is peppered with examples of this advertising ploy. The characters in soap opera *Lindenstraße* drink Baden wines and do their laundry with Dash.

The characters in another soap opera, *Die Guldenburgs*, wear clothes emblazened with Boss and it is hard to avoid names such as Levi, Marlboro and Jever Pilsener beer in the latest film from comedian Otto.

Since the 1960s product placement, for greater or lesser fees, has been a feature of the West German advertising world.

Since *The Graduate* the number of foreign and domestic television films and co-productions for the cinema that have used the product placement method to earn advertising fees has continuously increased.

Neither manufacturers nor television executives are particularly happy to be involved in it.

A spokesman for South German Radio said apologetically that since brand advertising was visible in the world around us it could not be disregarded when a film was being shot.

Furthermore many products are included in films without the company's emblem — for instance a Mercedes-Benz car without the star on the bonnet.

If a car is used in a film sequence and the manufacturer does not pay a fee for the car to be in the scene, television executives do not regard that as product placement. The limits of what is and what is not product placement are very fluid.

German firms are enthusiastic financiers of productions such as *Miami Vice* or *Dallas*, but according to executives from South German Radio channels cannot simply pull out of episodes because *Miami Vice* lead Don Johnson is decked out with Boss ads or J.R. drives a Daimler.

South German Radio says that the public interest comes first so one has to look the other way sometimes.

For manufacturers of branded products product placement is an important weapon against "developments that are inimical to advertising." The extreme popularity of video entertainment contributes to this; there is less time to watch television so less advertising is seen.

There is then the simple expedient of just switching over to video when the ads come on. The viewer cannot do much if the advertising is integrated into the film.

Manufacturers have varied hopes from this new form of television advertising. A spokesman for men's clothes manufacturers Boss said that not too much was expected from inserting brand marks into feature films.

In the first place, he said, the product was only seen for a split second. Furthermore it is difficult to reach a specific target group with this kind of advertising. Much is lost because it is so widespread.

Boss uses product placement advertising mainly to draw attention to fashion trends. This is why the characters in the Guldenburg soap opera and the producers of the film *Out of Africa* decided to dress the characters in these productions in clothes by Hugo Boss AG, Metzingen.

Without a specific brand name hitting them between the eyes, potential purchasers would then seek out the company that manufactured the clothes they had seen on screen.

Product placement gives the public television channels some problems. Legislation governing the channels and the media insists that there should be a division between programme content and advertising. Similar regulations are included in the new legislation controlling commercial television.

What then happens when popular hero tough-guy Schimanski conspicuously sucks on a special brand of bonbon and drives to the scene of the crime in a BMW?

If no-one complains no judgment is called for. So long as other manufacturers do not feel themselves put at a disadvantage there is nothing to complain about in product placement.

A spokesman for South German Radio said that the channels deployed various ways of handling advertising that involved branded products as properties in a film.

There was, however, a general rule of thumb that was observed: the more the advertising put the competition at a disadvantage and the less it contributed to public and dramatic intererst the more the film contravened good taste.

This year the First and Second Television Channels have laid down provisional guide-lines for dealing with product placement; payment for presenting products, properties and services in television programmes is inadmissible.

The only exceptions permitted are when a "special programme interest is



involved," whatever that might mean, and the channel director gives permission.

There are no clear regulations about whether sports promoters are going against the code when they allow taped advertising or a sponsors name to appear on the indicator board, or if programme compère Thomas Gottschalk is infringing the guide-lines when he appears on television wearing Adidas running shoes.

But one thing is certain: the First Television Channel is already planning a series in which branded articles will play a part.

Advertising agency Gesellschaft für Werbung und Produktion in Munich has already stirred up the advertising pot for the series with the working title *Platz und Sieg.*

This agency guarantees that the opportunities for product placement will be of best. But that, of course, costs money. Advertisers will have to pay DM80,000 for a 40 second advertising spot in the series.

Jeanette Weißschuh
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 15 September 1987)

German film-dubbing industry shows no signs of slackening

Nowhere in the world are there as many dubbing studios as in Germany. There are 62 of them, most in West Berlin, Munich and Hamburg.

The film, television and video industries hand out millions of marks of contracts every year — and demand is growing.

In 1980, two of Germany's three public television channels had 357 films dubbed. This year the figure will be more than 500. The figures for the third channel and the company which runs the morning programme are not available.

In 1980, film distributors had 248 productions dubbed into German. This year, that will reach 350.

More than 1,000 video films will be dubbed this year, from cartoons to pornographic films, 30 per cent up on last year.

The television networks are the most regular customers of the dubbing studios. They have built up permanent teams to dub long-running series such as *Dallas*, *Dynasty* and *Miami Vice.*

The private networks are becoming more important: the Luxembourg sender, RTL Plus, has had more than 500 episodes of its series, *Springfield Story*, dubbed.

SAT 1, a private German consortium which uses satellite television to supply a cable network comprising about 10 per cent of German households in a pilot scheme, has given out a contract for almost 200 episodes of *Love Boat.*

Most people in the visual stimulation business believe that Germans have a right to hear German voices in films.

Berlin dubbing boss Rainer Brandt says that, for example, the linguistic quality of *Dallas* is not anywhere near good enough to justify offering it in the original.

He says many American films could not even be shown in the original because of the use of southern slang.

But why are many film classics up-dated and dubbed? Is it really right that German audiences should only hear Humphrey Bogart or Elisabeth Taylor with the dubbed voices of Joachim Kemmer or Rosemarie Fendel? The distinctiveness and individuality of a film must suffer.

Munich director Til Kiwe rejects this. He regards opponents of dubbing as "ideological purists," but he regards the increased use of dual channel sound as a solution to the increasing demand for original soundtracks.

This dual channel service, operated by the television networks, is continuously being extended just as cinemas are increasingly more prepared to screen films, perhaps in special performances, in the original language.

The Swiss were long regarded as doing the right thing by opponents of dubbing. They screened most films in the original with subtitles.

But the Swiss are now increasingly screening films dubbed in Germany, Italy or France, although in Switzerland, more so than any other European country, there are no unbridgable language barriers.

There is another reason why the Swiss example is decepetive. Films are put out with subtitles because there is not enough cash available for dubbing.

Commercial calculation also plays its part in Denmark, Holland and Greece. Films are shown in the original not for aesthetic reasons but because there is a lack of cash to dub.

Television-mad Italy can afford dubbing — in fact, Italian channels have to dub to keep their audiences. German crime series such as *Derrick* or *Der Alte* are always dubbed into Italian.

France used to be reluctant to dub, but not any more.

Britain and America don't dub much. *Das Boot* was shown in Britain in the original with subtitles and still got the highest viewing figures. The comedy *Männer* had record audiences when shown in New York in the original with subtitles.

The countries in the English-speaking world have an easy time of it, because they have to import very few foreign films due to their own large supply.

The big men in the dubbing industry have a saying: "Dubbing is the German revenge on the Allies."

Ekkehardt Belle, author, director and dubbing speaker, said: "Because of the huge demand after the war for films that hadn't been butchered by (*Third Reich*) censors, we would have degenerated into a linguistic banana republic if we hadn't dubbed. We handled films just like we handled books.

"We have a wonderful language and the technical ability to dub films, so we should dub with a clear conscience."

It is indeed true that synchronisation has been a feature of the production process of sound films from the very beginning, synchronising picture and speech.

German films made today with foreign stars, (*Fathers and Sons* and *The Name of the Rose*, for instance), are shot in English. After the language chaos during shooting countries involved in a co-production have to produce their own dubbed version.

Dubbing is well paid. A speaker gets between DM5 to DM7.50 per take. In a 90-minute feature film there are between 500 and 800 takes.

A speaker for a main role has to be in front of the screen dubbing for about three days. He or she has to be enthusiastic about the work, because dubbing studios work round the clock.

Speakers who are in demand earn between DM15,000 and DM40,000 per month. It is tough earning money of this sort in front of the cameras.

For some time there has been considerable competition between the studios in Berlin and Munich.

One television channel gives most of its contracts for dubbing such series as *Dynasty* and the John Jakes Civil War epic North and South to studios in Berlin on labour-policy grounds.

The studios in Munich put up a real fight against the cheaper competition from Berlin. This often results in a third party getting into the act, Defa, for example, in East Berlin. State-run studios in East Germany are much cheaper than in the West because of East Germany's need for hard currency.

They fish out A and B class films from France and Scandinavia, all intended for screening in the Federal Republic, Austria and Switzerland.

Dubbing has become a lucrative business, and there is no longer talk of ruining a film by dubbing.

The public seems to have accepted the the industry's interpretation of the situation: dubbing is the production of an illusion in the course of which some text is lost which can be offset by getting some of the illusion back.

Hermann J. Huber
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 11 September 1987)

■ TECHNOLOGY

Come to Windischeschenbach to see The Greatest Hole on Earth



A hill near Naabdemenreuth in the Upper Palatinate, three miles west of the small town of Windischeschenbach, is the site of one of the most ambitious projects backed by the Bonn Research and Technology Ministry.

Drilling began on 18 September for what, by 1996, will hopefully be the world's deepest hole in the ground.

It is to be 14km deep and will cost DM450m. That is the sum earmarked for the Continental Deep-Drilling Programme.

The programme will include up to 110 individual scientific projects as part of an overall bill of fare headed "basic research into the physical and chemical conditions, circumstances and processes in the Earth's deep crust to gain a clearer understanding of the dynamics and evolution of intra-continental structural formation."

The borehole will yield a steady supply of stone, gas and liquid from the Earth's interior.

A field laboratory is under construction on the site. It will employ 350 scientists in nine working parties dealing with subjects ranging from basic technical research to research into geological deposits.

"Windischeschenbach," says project manager Heinrich Rischmüller of the Soil Research Establishment, Hanover, "will be a first-rate geological attraction."

At a depth of 14km the experts expect to find temperatures of between 250° C and 300° C and pressures of up to 2,000 bars. In an initial stage drilling is scheduled to reach 5,000 metres by the end of 1988.

Geoscientific data are to be collected and drilling and measuring equipment tested for subsequent stages of the project.

The preliminary stage will use a conventional rig drilling at a rate of roughly a metre an hour. 5,000 metres will take about 140 days. A DM40,000 diamond drill will last for about 10 to 15 metres.

Techniques for subsequent drilling have yet to be devised. Forty-metre drilling sections will be automatically handled in the 80-metre rig, the project management says. Probes will collect comprehensive physical and geochemical data from previously inaccessible depths of the Earth's crystalline crust.

Findings should be of enormous significance for earthquake research and vulcanology. Scientists expect the "deepest hole in the world" also to yield new information about the composition and origins of ore, mineral, thermal water, hydrocarbon and thermic heat deposits.

It should also supply fresh data about tension in the Earth's interior, about current geochemical processes and about heat production and flow at greater depths.

Once the borehole has reached rock bottom, scientists plan to carry out further geophysical experiments to find out more about the borderline between the Earth's mantle and its crust.

The decision in favour of Windischeschenbach as the site was taken in view of geological factors. The oldest geological formations in the area are over 600 million years old.

It was later at the intersection of tectonic pressure between the North American, African and Asian continents.

It thus combines, in a small area, folds of rock, superimposed strata and, as on the upper reaches of the Rhine, deep divides. The Continental Deep-Drilling Programme is the latest development in rapid progress toward a greater insight into the Earth's interior. Depths of 170 metres (558ft) were the deepest known only 175 years ago. In 1871 the first borehole over 1,000 metres (3,281ft) deep was drilled near Potsdam in salt prospecting. Twenty-five years ago natural gas prospectors in Münsterland reached a depth of nearly 6,000 metres.

dpa
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 14 September 1987)

The world's most boring machine at Windischeschenbach. (Photo: dpa)

Continued from page 7

zines are in no position to criticise Daimler-Benz. Or that all test drivers allow their critical faculties to be numbed by wining and dining.

The main difference between them and the Warentest Foundation is that motoring correspondents are almost invariably drivers and see themselves as members of the motoring lobby.

They always side with the motor industry whenever the Germans' four-wheeled friend runs a risk of being subjected to environmental restrictions of any kind.

Hüttenrauch expects Warentest car tests to be particularly critical on environmental counts. They would not, for instance, classify a car as "environment-friendly" merely because it complied with vehicle emission standards.

They would first check whether it met the stricter US regulations, and a diesel engine with a poor particle emission rating would be branded a soot sinner even though it might qualify for German road tax exemption by virtue of its emission count.

Carmakers are unlikely to relish this prospect, so it seems reasonable to assume that Herr von Manteuffel has not listed in full the objections his members raise. Manufacturers must surely be motivated in part by displeasure at the prospect of environmental considerations being stressed.

Another argument that just may influence up-market manufacturers is that the image of their marque is a bonus that invariably influences both test drivers and car-buyers.

If Warentest staff do not allow their judgement to be swayed in this manner their findings might just turn out to be less favourable than usual now and again.

That may explain why a spokesman for BMW strongly objects to the idea of Warentest car tests, whereas the Volkswagen spokesman feels the idea could be fine.

The Berlin foundation plans to base its tests on four main criteria: environment, safety, comfort and economy.

As always, it will not be carrying out tests of its own, relying instead on outside expertise.

Car tests would mainly be handled by the TÜV, the agency in charge of statutory roadworthiness tests for motor vehicles, and the automotive engineering departments of technical universities.

The foundation envisages tests costing over DM1m each, which is a conservative estimate considering cars have to be bought and a test of alternative detergents cost DM440,000.

The first test findings are due for publication next year.

They will deal solely with economy, which was the only aspect on which carmakers were prepared to collaborate with the Berlin foundation.

They need have no fear of alarming new findings on this score. The foundation can't test consumption and resale value in any other way than motoring magazines already do.

But tests covering all four aspects listed above will come — sooner or later. If German carmakers continue to play hard to get, Warentest intends to ask foreign manufacturers to name representatives for the advisory council.

Yet maybe the VDA will oblige after all. Herr von Manteuffel says he would raise no objection if the foundation were to invite him to attend further talks.

10 But it would have to present a fresh concept, he says. Warentest must not as much as consider any lowering of its standards. That would clearly not be in the consumers' interest.

Dirk Kurbjuweit
(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 11 September 1987)

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■ ARCHAEOLOGY

Dragging the secrets of mankind from out of the soil of Africa



The origins of mankind are explained by theories. The proofs for these theories can only be wrung from Africa's soil with difficulty. Sometimes the wind over the desert generously uncovers them so that they only have to be picked up.

Less often someone comes along who knows that the bones or implements of our earliest ancestors lie in the earth at his feet.

American Henry Bunn told the 11th International Archaeological Conference in Mainz about his site in Tanzania where there is evidence of a Homo Habilis.

Homo Habilis lived at least two million years ago and is the first creature to be given the generic name "Homo," and is the first of the human species Homo Erectus.

Proofs of Homo Habilis in Bunn's site lay next to finds of a Zinj-Australopithecus (a creature of the animal-primitive human being type) and a giant baboon.

Homo Habilis used stones so he would have been easily able to kill the other two, but if that were so why did he get killed?

And why do his stone utensils lie strewn in the midst of hundreds of unworked stones and many thousands of animal bones?

Sites such as this inflame the creative imagination of the researcher and there are grounds for these flights of fancy.

What were the circumstances that brought together today the bits of stones crushed 1.9 million years ago?

The intentions of this creature, that experimented on this spot, can be reconstructed. Philipp V. Tobias from Johannesburg sees the decisive steps towards man in the ability to conceive, produce and use a stone implement for beating or cutting.

This ability apparently began 2.3 million years ago, according to Tobias. The australopithecinae, who began it, must have developed inevitably into Homo Habilis then.

The various species of australopithecinae walked upright anyway. The earliest branches of man show this, primarily by the foot marks of two adults that were preserved, as reported at Mainz, in Laetoli on the edge of the Serengeti game park in a strata of volcanic ash dating from 3.6 million to 3.8 million years ago.

These wandering creatures must have had a brain similar in size to that of a chimpanzee. They walked with arched toes, no longer with toes splayed out as with apes. What they lacked was a productive brain. Obviously this brain could not develop independently as an individual organ.

Every modification of the body can only be the result of an immense amount of feedback from all the body processes involved.

A new nervous system must come into being for a slender hand to be able to grip something. There must be sections of the brain to coordinate the movements of such a limb, giving commands for movement. They are needed in a chimpanzee's brain to trigger off the sweeping movement by which the chimpanzee sweeps objects together on the ground.

The ability to speak could not have stood still in the network of relationships two million years ago at the prehuman level, so that only the immediate predecessors of contemporary man began *to speak, as it is accepted in many* quarters today.

Tobias believes in any event that Homo Habilis could make himself understood by sounds.

His proofs for early spoken forms are gripping. They involve new channellings in prehistoric human skulls, in which two well-known human speech centres are noticeably larger in Homo Habilis than in the skulls of the creature's predecessors.

It concerns the "Brocashe Areal" that is principally involved with the speech faculty and the important Wernicksche field, important for understanding speech.

The growth of these two centres presupposed wider domed skulls and Tobias identifies just these human characteristics.

He made fun of colleagues who had overlooked the fact that our ancestors had an excellent hearing sense and that a million years ago they could not have been dumb gesticulating jumping jacks.

The core features of prehistory are *unified discoveries, which include un*questioned bones from man and animals and stone utensiles or other implements heaped up together. Only at such a hunting or store place is the excavator certain that the primitive stones were produced for a set purpose.

All the millions of apparently worked finds which are picked up anywhere without other proofs of man, can only be assessed as definite artefacts, but even this topographic method has its snags.

In all periods game hunters have used a simple utensile for a simple purpose. A long bone can be broken open today just as it was two million years ago by a piece of hewn stone. This brings many sites into disrepute.

Eugène Bonifray from Marseilles presented batches of stones from Soleihac in the Massif Central in France that according to the volcanic ash are 900,000 years old and show faultless signs of having been hewn.

Bonifay's other sites go back further in time, the oldest is 1.9 million years old.

His colleagues take a "could be" attitude towards these pieces of stone as with the oldest Rhine rock utensils from Kärlich in the Neuwied basin.

They originate from a warm period about one million years ago and is on display in the excellent new Museum Monrepos near Neuweid.

Henry de Lumley from Paris and Hansjürgen Beck from Tübingen supplied a dating clash about the Holstein warm period, comparing both the cen*tral and west European complex of dis*coveries.

There was no agreement about what had previously been assumed to be from the same period, despite all dating that isotope physics offers archeologists.

Prehistory continues to be exciting; an example is the travertine archeological sites at Bad Cannstatt.

Eberhard Wagner has saved a metre long wooden staff that is likely the oldest, complete thrust weapon of man.

Canstatt travertine is a product of the Holstein interglacier although the strata of finds are dated at between 300,000 and 400,000 years ago. This is uncertain as is the age of the world-famous Steinheim Skull from the same warm and forested period.

Canstatt has a valuable, unified; It will be of particular importance if crown of a tooth found in two pa really human, as Alfred Czarne from Tübingen/Freiburg supposes.

He is also a palaeanthropologist who looks at human development *with the* eyes of a biologist.

In Mainz he recalled the *experience* of evolution. Specialised *organism* cannot back-track on their *development,* which is why man today *cannot originate* from the European *Neandenthal* Man with all his *exceptional physical* features.

More likely the *man from Steinheim* is a prototype *of the human* genus, which often *existed* alongside each other until *they* developed into us.

It is all an image of human history of a specific time. What is astonishing is that this image goes ever further back in time.

The oldest campfire site goes back an unbelievable 1.3 million years — it is at Chesowanja in East Africa — and this will not be the last date.

Georg Klemann

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 12 September 1987)

Jordan shows its Byzantine mosaics

An exhibition about Jordan is showing in Munich. The floor mosaics from the Byzantine period have been sent on tour by the Jordanian Department of Antiquities.

It will later move to West Berlin. At first sight it is a matter of surprise that no less than 35 originals, including two extremely large compositions, are on show. The explanation is the peculiarities of the country of origin and its archaeological research.

Jordan was established in 1921 by Winston Churchill and in 1950 expanded to a part of the West Bank. From a geographic point of view it is a long, narrow strip of cultivated land on the edge of the desert.

From prehistorical times it was crossed by an important caravan route over which the traffic between the Arabian peninsular and the coastal lands of the Mediterranean passed.

The region lived off this trade route and was supported by level-headed administration measures from the Byzantine emperor, leading to prosperity in the 6th century such as had never been experienced before.

In comparison with the north, bordering on the Syrian lands, cultural development in Jordan had been important since the time of Alexander the Great. As a part of Alexander's empire Syria was hellenised early and to an extensive degree. The cities particularly were penetrated by the Greek way of life.

This explains why in this region many mosaics from the 1st century AD were found that were closely related to the Roman cultural tradition.

In the 6th century the land experienced a series of catastrophes, which ruined it for centuries.

Jordan, on the other hand, remained for centuries culturally independent, despite nominally belonging to the Roman empire since it was conquered by Pompeius in 64 BC. Autochthon eastern cultural influences flourished better.

An astonishing increase in church building was brought about by the late hellenisation of Transjordan, the economic prosperity of its many cities and its appeal that quickly had its effect on the increasing crowds of pilgrims to the Holy Land, but above all by the support given to the Christian-Byzantine culture, offered to the land by the Emperor Justinian (527-569).

This gave a significant upswing to the art of mosaics that already existed, and which continued unbroken up to the 800s.

In 636 the Islamic conquerors took over this new art of interior decoration for their palaces.

Mosaics have been preserved mainly at Madaba, Ma'in and the cultural sites on Mount Nebo where, according to Biblical tradition, Moses died.

The museum from Madaba and other establishments from the Jordanian capital Ammam have mainly provided the exhibits to be seen in Munich.

International academic attention was first paid to the Jordanian mosaics in 1897. A report had appeared in a French magazine on the Madaba map that has since become so famous. It is still to be seen in its original position.

It is only a partly preserved Biblical-geographic mosaic dating from the middle of the 6th century depicting Palestine and the surrounding territories.

Regional peculiarities are rendered in a naturalistic style, places are given by name and illustrated, the emphasis being mainly on the ecclesiastical pilgrimage locations and sacred buildings.

Excavations at Madaba have been going on for the past 90 years. More and more mosaics in churches and chapels have been exposed.

In 1985 the first campaign of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum in Jerusalem brought to light a particularly important discovery, but this time secular in nature.

An enormous floor mosaic dating from the first half of the 6th century was found in a rich patrician's house on an old Roman street. It had been damaged by fire during the Byzantine period.

The preserved centre of the mosaic showed a hunting scene decorated with acanthus. It was completed by a wide border decorated with lozenge-shaped designs and animals.

This floor mosaic, until now not shown to the public, can be seen in Munich in the original along with animal representations from the so-called Cathedral of Madaba and two Greek inscriptions from Mount Nebo, all art-

Continued on page 11

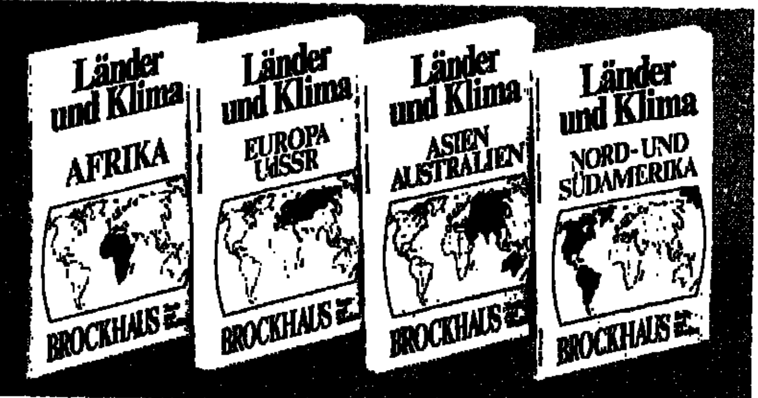
■ HUMOUR

The cartoon struggles to become an art form

Humour is rooted in other's mistakes, often in suffering.

A venerable gentleman in a dark suit standing on a stage absent-mindedly explains this to a large audience, and as he does so, his trousers slip round his ankles. He is himself exposed. Everyone laughs.

F.K.Waechter is a cartoonist with a fine nose for human weakness. He knows precisely where the source of wit lies.



(Cartoon: Fuchsl/Catalogue)

The man on the stage is his creation. He appears on a poster in an exhibition in Kassel, "Caricature — the real truth 70 times."

The exhibition gives a cross-section review of contemporary cartoons and caricatures. There are 200 caricatures from 70 artists, both men and women.

The exhibition has been brought together by the society for the promotion, support and dissemination of media culture and communication.

It is supported by the municipal cultural department and the city's polytechnic.

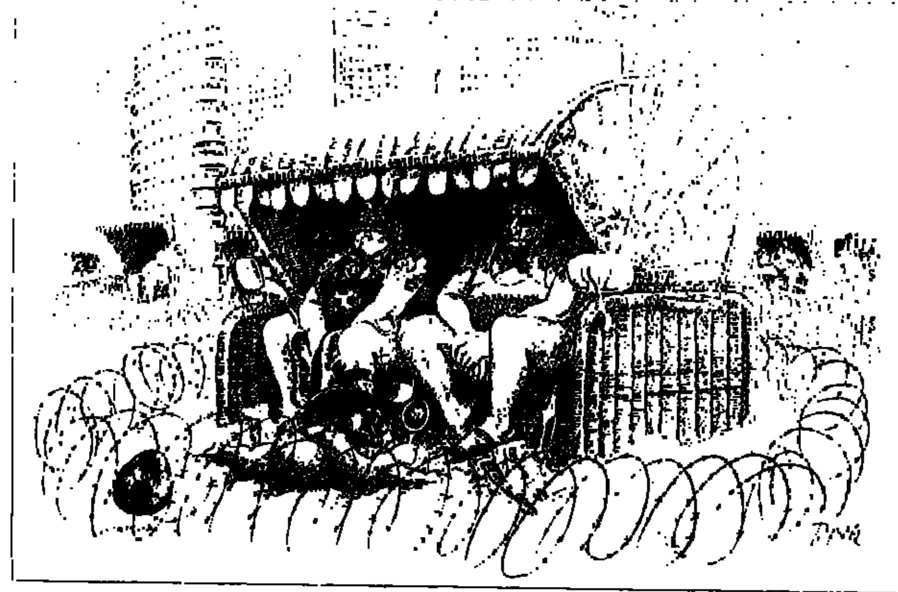
Most of the artists have three drawings. Talented young artists who have never had a drawing displayed to the public are placed next to veterans such as Loriot, Tomi Ungerer, Horst Haitzinger and Gerhard Seyfried.

Works from nine women are included, among them Amelie Glienke (Hogli), Marie Marcks, Franziska Becker and Elisabeth Kmölninger.

Caricature is more than a chance depiction of an incident. The exhibition presents an exhaustive view of the art of caricature in the Federal Republic and it is obvious that among these young caricaturists and cartoonists several with talent have been discovered.

The nonsense group are best represented by Wolfgang Stein, Christian Groß (Kriki), Bernd Hobohm (Hobo) and whizz kid Rütger Feldmann, alias Werner.

Harald Huch, Jens Jeddeloh and



(Cartoon: Pepsch Gottscheber/Catalogue)

Bernd Pohlenz link graphic perfection with amusing puns. Newcomers in the cartoon business have a tough time finding a footing in the narrow, competitive market. They only find a home for their drawings usually in local newspapers or in the alternative press, that are not always the best payers.

It is not surprising then that young graphic arists have to make a living as taxidrivers or some other form of part-time job.

The art of the caricaturist and cartoonist in this country does not have the general appeal it does in the USA, Britain or France, even the work of the old, established artists. Cartoons and caricatures are regard as things for children or at the best superfluous extras.

Only the large national and local newspapers have their own cartoonists or employ cartoonists regularly.

It isn't all a bed of roses for the "male *prostitutes of journalism,"* the "callboys and cowboys of journalism," as Eike Christian Hirsch once called them.

It certainly isn't a laughing matter to produce laughter-provoking drawings.

Berlin is the centre of West German caricaturists and cartoonists. About a third of the 70 artists included in the Kassel exhibition live and work in Berlin. Frankfurt and Munich follow in second and third place, then Hamburg.

Aggressive, caustic satire seems only to find a place in large cities. The most obvious impression that the exhibition gives is that political caricature is sunk deep in a deep sleep.

Political cartoonists have a tough time of it if the people they do cartoons of take to collecting the cartoons of themselves as a measure of their popularity. The press office of the Bundestag collects cartoons. Top of the 1986 list, according to F.W. Bernstein of the office, was Chancellor Helmut Kohl with 841 cartoons of him published, followed by Franz Josef Strauss and Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

What does not bite doesn't hurt. The enthusiasm for collecting personal cartoons is the best evidence of the harmlessness of the political caricature.

There are jokes that can cut into the flesh such as the drawings by Elisabeth Kmölninger, an Austrian artist living in Berlin and the sad, droll world of the Berlin artist Michael Sowa, who paints small cat-pictures in oils, but they have only a marginal force.

Robert Gernhard, one of the most distinguished of German cartoonists, says, in the catalogue to the exhibition, that what the cartoon lacks is a public response similar to literary criticism of plays and books and so on.

He is one of the founders of the "New Frankfurt School," along with Clodwig Poth, Hans Traxler and F.K.Waechter. They are the main artists involved in the nonsense paper *Titanic*, in which comic drawings rove around in an artistic noman's land between the fine arts, literature and the graphic arts.

So far the caricature has not been regarded as art. Perhaps the Judgment of Solomon suggestion is applicable that Eike Christian Hirsch has at the ready: cartoons are critical graphics and intellectual artforms.

Thomas Eckert

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 23 August 1987)

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Continued from page 10

works of the highest quality. They were excavated by the same Jerusalem institution in 1981 and 1984.

Such mosaics usually included inscriptions of date, the name of the client and the artist who executed the contract. This is often the only source for early Christian history in the region and naturally a splendid aid to historical classification of these pictures.

They lend themselves to comparison with similar representations from the same period in Ravenna.

Among the exhibits on show in Munich are five city views that were found by the famous French archaeologist De Vaux in 1938 in the acropolis church of Main.

The mosaic's border displays interchanging trees and depictions of cities, usually represented by a single building. They are unique in their art of illustration and in their technical execution. They are also, of course, important for an indication of the architecture of the period.

These views are also important for an insight into early Islamic history. They confirm that Christianity was tolerated under Islam, churches were built and decorated as it pleased the Christians.

The exhibition shows clearly the difficulties that archaeology has to encounter today in sparsely-populated countries with an inadequately developed infrastructure.

The objects on show were taken from their archeological sites, broken up into pieces and as a consequence in part irreparably damaged.

No matter if a stop has been put to handling these mosaics roughly, they have been badly damaged since they were discovered either by the natural course of events, or knowingly by their owners who feared they would be confiscated by the state.

Measures introduced by the Jordanian government in 1962 and 1985 have had their effect. The many archeological sites in Madaba were brought together into an archaeological zone which makes it possible to preserve important mosaics in situ for coming generations.

Hartmut Binder

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 27 August 1987)

■ HERITAGE

Row over plan to build on old Jewish ghetto site

Süddeutsche Zeitung

A decision by Frankfurt council to build a municipal centre over the ruins of part of the old Jewish ghetto has unleashed a bitter dispute.

The city's mayor, Wolfram Brück, heads the Christian Democratic-dominated council that made the decision to build. A year ago, Herr Brück wrote in a book that "historic monuments are nothing other than primary sources of history. They are not stored in archives or museum pieces per se; their immovable place for all time is where they originally stood."

Not surprisingly, Herr Brück has been doing all he can to disown the statement.

His decision to go ahead on Börneplatz and build has unleashed a storm of protest no less tempestuous than the dispute three years ago over the production of a Fassbinder play criticised as anti-Semitic.

The opposition, far from being party based, is growing by the day.

The conservation lobby says the ruins are the most important testimony of past Jewish life in Germany and, as such, are indispensable.

True enough, little is left of the Jewish past. After the November 1938 pogroms 260 synagogues were burnt to the ground, including the Börneplatz synagogue, and a further 76 destroyed in other ways.

The ruins excavation has brought to light are unquestionably important, differing from Christian ruins, of which there are plenty.

The council has ruled out a pause for thought and is determined to keep to the construction schedule. The main walls for an administrative block are already under construction and earth-moving equipment is at work on the adjacent excavation site.

After several hasty and ill-conceived proposals Mayor Brück has outlined to Hilmar Hoffmann, head of the municipal arts department, a fresh compromise he says is final. There is to be no further discussion on the subject.

It is the fifth compromise, and in principle no different from the others in envisaging the preservation of a few fragments to be arranged in a museum display.

The only new ideas are a few extra foundations to be included and a few words of description for the museum site to be incorporated in the service centre.

The latest plan provides for the preservation of five of the 16 foundations. They are all that is left of houses that once were known as the Ram, the Lamb, the Stone House, the Sparrowhawk and the Hermitage, or Hot Baths.

Jewish ritual baths are to be preserved, as are the foundations of what is thought to have been a former hospital.

Three of the ruins show what cramped quarters the Jews lived in. One is to indicate the living standards of a richer ghetto dweller, the last, as a former Talmud school, to testify to religious life in the Frankfurt ghetto.

This is the city's plan for preserving and presenting the past of the second-largest Jewish community in Germany, formerly a centre of Jewry in Western Europe.

The site covers an area of 500 square metres, with museum facilities taking up the same amount of space again.

This plan has been criticised as a cynical, Philistine gesture. The archaeological testimony is to be largely destroyed and in its place visitors will be shown a model of the former ghetto about 10ft long incorporating the latest technical ploys and also available on a video cassette.

There is every justification in criticising this concept as a waste disposal centre for unpleasant reminders of history.

Hesse Prime Minister Walter Wallmann came to the assistance of his fellow-Christian Democrat and successor as mayor of Frankfurt at a CDU gathering. But what he had to say failed to improve matters.

He said there had been no direct link between the Frankfurt ghetto and Auschwitz — which no-one had suggested in the first place. His aim was to demystify the finds and to make them available to the general public.

He would do better to read more widely. *Das Labyrinth*, a 1789 description of the ghetto by Danish traveller Jens Baggesen, published by C. H. Beck, Munich, 1986, tells a lurid tale:

"Visualise a group of several thousand men dressed in rags, several thousand half-naked women and several thousand stark naked children crushed and cramped together in a single narrow alleyway.

"What an appalling picture of misery! What a wailing and gnashing of teeth! What a pestilential smell of warm living, lifeless and dead riff-raff!"

Is one not reminded of conditions in concentration camp barracks? For obscure reasons Herr Wallmann came up with a view on the origins of Nazi racial policy.

Probable

Christian anti-Semitism, he said, was not to blame for Auschwitz. It was, "and I say so hesitantly and diffidently, the wrong road this country has taken since the Enlightenment."

He might just as well have branded Moses Mendelssohn and Lessing, Börne and Heine — Christian and Jewish champions of tolerance.

Herr Wallmann would like to put out the light shed by the site. He feels the Börneplatz finds must be seen as separate and distinct from the German people's guilt in connection with the crimes committed between 1933 and 1945.

The remains of the ghetto, he says, are no cause for shame. Such attempts to ease the burden of history are hard to reconcile with the history of the Frankfurt ghetto since 1462.

A single street 300 metres long, for centuries it was one of the places where Jews were abused and humiliated before the Nazis "perfected" the technique.

The prehistory of Jewish persecution in the Third Reich is very much in evidence in the Frankfurt ghetto, even though it may have been opened in the era of bourgeois emancipation. Unless the signs are totally misleading, Mayor Brück is not going to be dissuaded on any historical or moral grounds whatever from soon giving the go-ahead to clear the site for construction.

Grotesque and disgraceful scenes have already occurred, such as when young Jews, who together with other desmonstrators, staged a six-day sit-in on the site to prevent its destruction, were expelled from the former ghetto for disturbing the peace.

Some of them had demonstrated to prevent the performance of Fassbinder's play. Then their protest was applauded. Now they are branded as criminals. Which only goes to show how readily the Frankfurt city council measures non-violent resistance by dual standards.

The affair, which is by no means yet over, has already shown that a debate of such extraordinary historical and moral volatility cannot be governed solely by the majority in the city council.

Officials in charge of historic monuments cannot claim to have behaved brilliantly either. The head of excavations concealed a conflict of interest that in any other context would automatically have disqualified him.

As the man in charge of the dig he must be in a position to arrive at independent decisions and be subject solely to the dictates of his conscience. Yet as curator of the Frankfurt museum of prehistory and early history he is subject to instructions by Mayor Brück.

The delegation of responsibility to an expert from further afield would dispel the massive mistrust he now faces, especially as he has turned a deaf ear to the justified public desire for detailed information.

You can forfeit your authority by working solely behind the scenes as an archaeologist and merely advising the administration.

A fresh monument has now been erected around the disputed site: a corrugated iron wall round three sides of the site to conceal the earth-moving equipment, construction workers and archaeologists from the inquisitive glances of passers-by.

This wall is designed mainly to prevent the public from seeing what is done (or left undone) on Börneplatz. It is also, figuratively speaking, a three-sided set of blinkers the city authorities have decided to wear.



The Judengasse in Frankfurt, depicting Jews being massacred in 1614.

(Drawing: Archives)

Bulldozing the finds apart from a few vestiges for museum use is no way to win the discussion. It has long ceased to be a matter of mere presentation of archaeological finds. *The sense of history* and morality of *recollection* are now involved.

The ruined landscape as unearthed has a sensual quality and an aura that are bound to be extinguished when reduced to diminutive, museum dimensions.

The meagre, broken stones of foundations and walls must not be reduced to remains of cultural history and hidden away in an administrative building. The historical status of the site and its importance for our collective memory must not be decided at the party-political level.

In Börne's childhood, in the days of the French Revolution, about 500 people vegetated in the 50 metres of ghetto now uncovered beneath the asphalt.

This is a site on which we can visualise better than anywhere else a part of history that eludes us. As Baggesen wrote in 1789:

"Here in this dark, narrow, dirty, stinking and virtually closed alley where they live one can study the statistics of an entire nation.

"Those who have *walked along* it and failed, heedless *of* the nudges, trickery and unpleasantnesses, to feel sorry for their seven thousand cramped and oppressed fellow-humans, those who are not moved by this cameo to feel sorry for the condition of all others suffering in more or less the same appalling way can only be said to lack something — in their minds or their hearts."

Börneplatz, a name that will become meaningless once the service centre is built, is a symbol of failure to come to terms with this history.

The Jews who were able, decades after Baggesen visited the ghetto, to leave it sought to integrate. They failed and were the losers; but so are we.

The struggle to preserve such memories must not be lost to a municipal administration that, in Baggesen's words, is either heartless or mindless.

Wilfried F. Schoeller

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 10 September 1987)

■ MEDICINE

Artificial organs 'will never completely simulate the real thing' — doctor



Technology will probably never be able to simulate fully the complex nature of natural organs, a medical conference in Munich has been told.

Horst Klinkmann, from Rostock, in East Germany, said the human heart was more than a mere blood pump and the kidneys are not just toxin filters.

Klinkmann is the newly elected president of the European Association for Artificials Organs.

Delegates also heard that there is likely to be a huge increase in the use of human spare parts.

They will range from false teeth and artificial hip and knee joints to artificial cardiac valves and blood vessels, cardiac pacemakers, artificial kidneys, heart and lung machines and artificial hearts.

Survival depends on a mechanical spare part for a defective human organ. Twenty thousand people in the Federal Republic rely, for instance, on dialysis, or artificial kidneys.

"So it is hardly surprising that most worries occur where technology and life, technology and man, are interlinked and people depend on equipment for survival," said Fritz Hartmann, from Hanover, at the Munich international congress on artificial organs.

Many healthy people were wary of modern medical technology, and understandably so. Mechanical failure is not the problem.

Dr Klinkmann said, "virtually no problems remain from the purely mechanical, technical viewpoint" where the artificial heart, for instance, is concerned.

The drawback of mechanical organs was that they tended to reduce physical activity to a single function, even though it might be the main and crucial one.

The human heart performs more roles than that of a mere blood pump, and the kidney is not just a toxin filter; it also produces important hormones.

"No matter how much technology progresses we will, in all probability, never succeed in fully simulating the complexity and ingenuity of the natural organ," he said.

He noted with dismay that many people failed to appreciate "the real challenge in the artificial organ sector: the fact that medicine, particularly physiology, must bring greater influence to bear on developments."

Artificial hearts at present raped the human organism, he said, if they remained implanted in the body for longer than 60 days.

They might pump blood through the arteries but they neither reacted to nerve or hormone signals nor were able to influence the complex regulatory systems that kept the circulation in equilibrium.

A mechanical blood pump failed to normalise faults in the cardiac and circulatory system that were caused by a sick heart.

The body continued to retain salts, water was stored in the tissue, patients had too high blood pressure and other organs suffered as a result.

Suitable biocybernetic models did not yet exist that could integrate the blood pump in the complex regulatory system of the human body.

The experts were agreed that the artificial heart could at best serve as a makeshift until such time as a suitable donor's heart was available.

The so-called second heart, assisting the weakened or sick organ or easing the burden on the left cardiac chamber from outside the body, was also discussed.

It was said to be less of a surgical burden on the patient but was also less effective. Besides, there could be no ruling out complications such as an embolism or a blood clot caused by the sick heart.

This auxiliary blood pump, said Ernst Wolner, from Vienna, could only be used in cases where there was a reasonable prospect of the patient's heart recovering.

Dialysis can no longer take the place of a natural kidney than an artificial heart can replace the natural organ. It too can cause fresh complaints.

To this day doctors do not know for sure exactly which substances must be washed out of the blood plasma to prevent poisoning of the organism.

If too many substances are extracted in too short a time, too wide a gap may occur between the concentration in which they occur inside body cells and in their environs.

As a result, water may pour into the cells and be stockpiled in the tissue with fatal consequences for a variety of organs, including the brain.

Nowadays microchips in the latest kidney machines regulate the process and help to ensure that dialysis is carried out in a manner best suited to the individual patient, said Hans Jürgen Gurland of Grosshadern Clinic, Munich.

Even so, filtration by the artificial kidney cannot be compared with that of the sophisticated natural system of cell membranes.

Artificial membranes have more in common with a coarse sieve than with a natural membrane, which not only passively allows substances to pass through but also actively helps them to do so and has a wide range of biochemical capabilities.

These differences are why medical research has yet to succeed, by artificial means, in deliberately extracting specific substances from the blood plasma.

Some scientists have borrowed an idea from nature to make artificial membranes at least largely specific, such as coating them with antibodies to retain specific proteins.

A membrane prepared in this way will, for instance, filter out from blood plasma the antibodies that attack the body's own proteins in myasthenia gravis, an immune syndrome.

Constant improvements are made, gradual approximations to the natural organ, but artificial organs are "coarse and too simple." They were, Hartmann said, "only partial solutions."

Nature, he noted, had taken millions of years to develop the liver, the lungs, the heart and the kidneys to their present state of complexity, adaptability and durability.

The best replacement for a defective organ is still the natural one.

The trend seems to be toward a "marriage" of high tech and natural systems. In initial experiments scientists are trying to attach test-tube cells with specific capabilities to synthetic carriers that prevent immune responses.

This, for instance, is the approach adopted by research scientists working on an artificial pancreas (work which, incidentally, is still in its early days).

A similar approach has been adopted in work on the liver, the body's "central laboratory" with a wide range of functions that makes it one of the most complex of human organs.

Most scientists feel individual functions may be simulated but doubt whether medical research will ever succeed in simulating them all.

The aim of linking living matter and high tech is also apparent in connection with the "artificial" lymphatic gland, which in reality amounts to no more than separation of immune system body cells from other cells and blood plasma components, highly complex though the technique may be.

In a test tube they are armed with a communication molecule from the immune system, interleukin 2, and then returned to the cancer patient's body.

Immune cells treated in this way then attack the lethal growth.

This technique, on trial at the National Cancer Institute in the United States, is also still in its early days. So gentle spare parts for the human body will be a while yet.

Hania Luczak

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 14 September 1987)

Electrodes help even the stone deaf

When the inner ear is damaged but the auditory nerve is still in working order, a cochlear implant — an artificial organ — can bridge the gap.

A microchip as a speech processor takes on the job of converting acoustic information into electric impulses.

Electrodes implanted in the cochlea, or inner ear, can pass on electrical current to the auditory nerve and create the impression of hearing even for people who are stone deaf.

The various impulses are set in such a way that high and low inputs are sensed differently. The same word will regularly trigger the same stimulus pattern, so that patients can slowly, painstakingly learn to recognise individual words and sentences.

For the deaf it is like learning a foreign language.

Thirty-three research groups in 16 countries are engaged in opening up the world of sounds for the stone deaf. Representatives of all 33 met in Düren, near Aachen, to review research findings and compare notes.

The symposium was arranged by Paul Banfai, head of the ear, nose and throat department at St Mary's Hospital, Düren. He heads a West German research team that has carried out 170 cochlear implant operations since 1978.

Unlike most other groups, the Düren research scientists have developed a technique that can be used on children and is suitable not just for people who have lost their hearing at some stage in life but were stone deaf from birth.

In the Federal Republic alone, he says, there are an estimated 20,000 children and adults whose hearing could be restored by means of a cochlear implant.

"It would be ideal to operate on babies born deaf, but with auditory nerves intact, between the age of one and two when they naturally learn how to talk," he says. The Düren technique is particularly well suited for surgery at this age because the inner ear chambers do not need to be opened. So damage to the auditory nerve during the operation is ruled out.

Yet problems still arise because stimuli are relayed to the electrodes via a system of plugs.

Patients have a socket behind their ear — an opening in the skin where local infection can regularly recur.

In two years of research staff at the Fraunhofer Microelectronics Institute in Duisburg have developed a new wireless transmission technique.

Unlike the conventional system, Professor Günter Zimmer told the Düren symposium, no wires are now needed to relay speech signals to the auditory nerve.

"Speech information registered by microphone and converted by the processor into electrical stimuli can be transmitted through the skin without wires."

A further advantage of this technique is that not only speech signals can be transmitted; the power supply is also maintained through the skin.

A tiny spool is attached to the chip and a similar spool is attached to the surface of the skin. The twin spools work like a miniature transformer, maintaining a power supply via the skin.

The speech processor itself has been improved at the Fraunhofer Institute, as has the processing of speech. Patients find it easier to understand acoustic signals.

If the processor can be further miniaturised, which is what Fraunhofer research scientists are now working on, the process would be technically little short of ideal.

The best technology cannot solve a further problem, however. It is that patients need intensive post-operative speech therapy and psychological care for up to a year or more.

The rehabilitation unit at Banfai's Düren hospital can at best accommodate seven patients for not longer than six weeks at a time.

That, he says, is not enough. "Some patients who achieved good results in post-operative rehabilitation have been unable to keep up their training on being discharged.

"Lack of systematic auditory training led to their performances declining, with the result that they were later unable to derive full benefit from their implant."

So there are now plans to set up a rehabilitation unit to treat 20 to 30 patients for up to a year in Düren.

This facility would be particularly important for deaf children and juveniles from socially disadvantaged families who would otherwise lack both the inner motivation and the external conditions in which to put the new technique to best use.

A suitable building has been found but the funding has yet to be assured.

Mayor Josef Vosen of Düren has pledged his support, but the Federal and *Land* governments and the health insurance schemes will need to contribute their share if this unique scheme is to go ahead.

Gisela Kretzschmar

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 11 September 1987)

■ SOCIETY

The anti-missile blockade loses velocity

Since the end of the Second World War, the trades unions have celebrated 1 September as anti-war day. The war began on 1 September 1939.

On that date in 1983 Heinrich Böll, Günter Grass, Heinrich Albertz, Walter Jens, Dietmar Schönherr, Barbara Rüttling, Oskar Lafontaine and thousands of others gathered at Mutlangen, east of Stuttgart.

They lay down in front of the barbed-wire fence round the American military base and waited.

This Celebrity Blockade turned Mutlangen into a symbol of civil disobedience.

The authorities devised a stratagem so that there would be no television and photographic coverage of people being forcibly removed.

The Americans did nothing for three days. Then the celebrities left. Only then did the action start and hundreds of people were carried off.

Since then Mutlangen has become a centre of increasing interest. The district court constantly handles cases involving demonstrators who have been arrested on the road into the American base where Pershing 2 missiles are located.

They have turned a chicken shed into a press centre and living accommodation close to the base, and they believe they have found a permanent place to stay.

But four years on they are again having to deal with a stratagem by the authorities. They see zero options from East and West as just a sham.

One said bitterly: "Most people just don't understand that that's all a pretence."

He objects that even if a small proportion of the missiles are done away with enough will remain to blow the world to bits.

There is a lot more to it as well. The Mutlangen base, for example, is being extended, the Friends of Peace maintain, almost triumphantly.

Sympathisers want to know, one protestor admits, how the participants at the permanent demonstration see their future in view of the threats to their existence coming from the negotiations in Geneva.

He said: "The question is already being asked what are we going to do here when the missiles are removed. Then we shall no longer have anything to object to."

But most of them do not have much difficulty in providing an answer. They will then draw people's attention to other weapons systems. Jochen said there was enough to do in this sphere, particularly in Mutlangen where probably a major base for nuclear warheads would be established.

Scepticism and the view that a missiles agreement will not alone bring about peace helps them to continue with their self-appointed task of demonstrating for disarmament.

The Mutlangen demonstrators are undeterred. They continue to give out information, to pay attention to demonstrations abroad and cope with a variety of organisations.

They also follow the missiles when they are taken from the base for manoeuvres in Baden-Württemberg. They draw local people's attention to the missiles. The permanent demonstrators have not lost their élan, but they are more professional than they used to be, primarily calmer about things.

One who has been there for three and a half years sees the situation in the same light. The permanent demonstrators are not as determined as they used to be.

Two young women brought up the psychological aspects. One said that previously there had been a frenzy of anxiety and endless debate about the end of the world, now "one prepares oneself for survival."

Most agree. There is the feeling, even though it is not spelled out, that it is impossible to be immersed in the issue of missiles all the time. A couple who were at Mutlangen for six months ended up "totally done in, burnt out."

Peter, who has been at Mutlangen from the beginning, can recall five others.

But many demonstrators have made a break into a new life with a job and family. (Jokes are made about the number of children that have been conceived in the shacks at Mutlangen.)

Demonstrators who have left sometimes come back for a visit. Some have had to change their sleeping accommodation from a converted attic to a Swabian prison cell. Almost all the demonstrators there now have blocked the entrance to the American base at some time or another and have not paid the fine, as their friend Hinrich Olsen, who is now serving a sentence of several months' duration.

As it is illegal to block the entrance into the American base the participants in the permanent demonstration no longer do this. They just stand guard at the gates. No vehicles are stopped.

Experience with the police has been varied. Melanie told of an earlier experience: "A policeman with whom I had just been talking suddenly knocked me into the mud when he got the order to clear the gateway. I'm not very keen to talk to them any more."

The people of Mutlangen have got used to people such as Ewald Bucher, 73, in the 1960s an FDP minister in Bonn, resident in Mutlangen.

He commends the citizens of Mutlangen for having survived the democratic challenge.

Most of them reject the demonstrators' demands but respect their democratic freedom to demonstrate.

Peter Henkel

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 1 September 1987)

New asylum laws causing headaches for airlines

Saarbrücker Zeitung

New laws under which airlines can be fined for transporting to Germany people without visas or other right to enter the country are causing headaches at boardroom level.

The legislation is part of the Bonn government's campaign to dam the flood of refugees seeking political asylum.

The airlines say the onus puts almost official responsibility on them to distinguish bone fide travellers from others. This, in turn, is placing impossible demands on ground staff. How, ask the airlines, can staff be expected to pick out, for example, people with forged documents?

For a long time, refugees who came to West Germany seeking asylum were no concern of airlines. Anyone who had a ticket could fly.

The new legislation is not only threatening to spoil the business but is also creating problems with vetting.

Few accurate statistics are available, but civil aviation insiders believe that on certain routes people seeking political asylum make up as much as 30 per cent of the passenger traffic.

Routes involved include flights from Karachi (Afghans and Iranians), Khartoum (Eritreans), New Delhi (Tamils) and Teheran (Iranians) to Europe.

Birgit Plank, head of social services at Frankfurt airport, says that many refugees buy a return ticket, but only use the outward part.

Since January this year limits have been put on this business with people seeking asylum. The new legislation dealing with asylum-seekers gives airlines almost official control rsponsibilities in matters concerning refugees.

It has been laid down, for instance, that no non-EEC state airpassenger can be brought to the Federal Republic without a residence permit or a transit visa.

Passengers with forged documents, not uncommon among refugees, or without proper papers cannot now board a plane bound for this country.

The airlines have disputed the new legislation vehemently. Lufthansa, for instance, maintained at a hearing of the Bundestag interior committee last autumn, that it would be practically impossible for them to implement the new legislation.

It would be impossible for ground staff to recognise forged passports or visas.

In the meantime the first fines have been handed out to airlines — plus accommodation costs. The airlines are held responsible for the accommodation of refugees to be repatriated while in West Germany.

Egypt Air and Iran Air were fined and at the end of July two other airlines had to face up to fines of between DM2,000 and DM4,000 per refugee illegally carried.

According to Lufthansa staff accommodation costs have been imposed on the German national carrier.

In April the Interior Ministry threatened Air India, Air France, the Romanian airline Tarom and the Yugoslav air company with the same thing.

The concern among airlines that fly the refugee routes is considerable.

The mitigations about repatriating illegal refugees included in the new legislation — that refugees can be repatriated to the neighbouring country into which they fled — have unleashed considerable discussion about whether such repatriation is justified among Lufthansa's cabin and deck personnel

Some pilots, co-pilots and stewardesses are considering whether they should refuse to carry expelled asylum-seekers, flying them "back to prison or even death."

Trade unionist representing Lufthansa airborne personnel at Frankfurt are currently looking into a complaint "on a refusal to work on the grounds of conscience."

Klaus Tscharnke (dpa)

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 17 August 1987)

Shoplifter meets violent death: store boycotted

A Tübingen supermarket is being boycotted because a young man caught stealing died after being strangled by a member of the staff.

A sign saying: "Here death is free-of-charge" has been stuck on the window where the special offers are usually displayed. A policeman stands at the door. Inside, the staff stand around with nothing to do.

The episode happened when a sales assistant saw a 20-year-old Iranian, Kiomars Javadi, leaving the supermarket through the back door with a trolley laden with groceries. Three members of the staff followed him, there was a scuffle on the street and Javadi fell to the ground.

Despite appeals from onlookers, one of the shop staff took Javadi in a stranglehold and refused to let go, shouting: "I won't let him go."

And he didn't. The police arrived 15 minutes later. Artificial respiration was applied, but it didn't help. Javadi died later at the university hospital.

Javadi, who had only recently been married, claimed to be an opponent of the Khomeini regime. He was receiving an allowance of two marks 50 pfennigs a day and lived in a barracks with hundreds of others seeking political asylum.

A forensic doctor said that the cause of his death was strangulation. Was it a case of grievous bodily harm resulting in death, death from negligence or manslaughter? That is a matter for the courts.

The question being asked in Tübingen is: why did the other shop employees not stop their colleague? And why did they "adopt a threatening attitude to passersby?"

And why did people at the scene not do more than just yell? How much national resentment, blind rage and social hate was unbottled?

Readers of the local paper, *Schwäbisches Tagblatt* expressed shame for this death that had blighted Tübingen's reputation as being a charming university city.

A woman reader wrote to the editor that she was nauseated by the report of the Iranian's death. She asked: "What kind of a country is this in which I live."

The Saturday morning humour column that the paper usually ran was dropped. The author said that after the incident he had "no stomach for being funny."

By coincidence, on the same day that the results of the Javadi postmortem were announced, there was a reception in the Tübingen Town Hall for former Tübingen Jews, who had been invited back for the second time since 1981.

Mayor Eugen Schmid took this occasion to warn of "provincialism of the mind" in our society. The mind, he said, did everything to protect itself from the unknown, the foreign.

Hans Mayer, 80 and a Marxist professor of literature, was awarded the Citizen's Medal. In his acceptance speech he said that the ground of democracy on which we stand is still unfirm.

Continued on page 15

■ HORIZONS

Farmer Ewald's rutting pigs bring home the bacon

An enterprising farmer has profited heavily by adding a new dimension to his farm: he has turned it into a sort of combined zoo and leisure park.

Guests pay five marks to get in. They can wander through roofed-over galleries, protected from nasty farmyard smells by glass walls.

The farmer, Ewald Döpper, has built peep windows into walls where, by inserting a mark coin in a slot, a blind rises and allows guests to watch a variety of sights from animals copulating and pigs rutting to romantically reconstructed pastoral scenes.

Döpper is also a dab hand at poetry, so much so that he has painted his work on walls throughout throughout the viewing area in gothic script.

A sample above one of the peep windows where people can view pigs in the sty: "We lie no more on dung and straw, And that's the way we like it, The air is good and so's the food, And we reach the slaughterman quicker."

Döpper's farm, at Syther, which is near Münster, just a few miles north of the Ruhr, attracts people by claiming to be a model European Community farm. That is his great selling point. The story began in 1955 when he married into the family which ran the Prickingshof farm.

In the early 1960s, he began encouraging visitors, enticing them with huge meals from farm produce.

One day in 1973, a guest said to him: "Don't worry, Ewald wird gewinnen (Ewald will win do all right)."

Ewald wird gewinnen - the initials are EWG, or EEC. And so the EWG-Musterhof (EEC model farm) was born. He was taken to court on the grounds that he was misusing a name, but he won.

Since then, business has flourished. People continue to line up and pay their five marks and walk through the galleries to look at the 5,000 pigs and head of cattle being fattened for the abattoirs. The animals have little room to move in. They have little option but to either stand or sit. After all, meat grows more quickly if the animals are less active.

Here and there are inscriptions telling about farm customs and how it used to be in the old days. One notice proclaims that this is where the farmer sleeps. You put a mark piece in the slot, a blind slides up to reveal a dusty farm bedroom together with a recorded commentary in the farmer's gruff tones explaining that he sleeps here so he can be near the animals.

A woman mutters: "It's just profiteering." You are not meant to be mean with the mark pieces at Döpper's. Mark pieces are the key to everything that happens here. You put one in here, the blind opens, lights inside come on, a harvest wreath starts revolving, all to a background of farming songs.

At another peep window, a blonde girl gets a mark from her mother and inserts it. The blind opens and inside, a video set shows cattle and horses copulating.

The girl reacts with disappointment. "Was it worth a mark?" asks the mother.

"I don't know," replies the girl doubtfully.

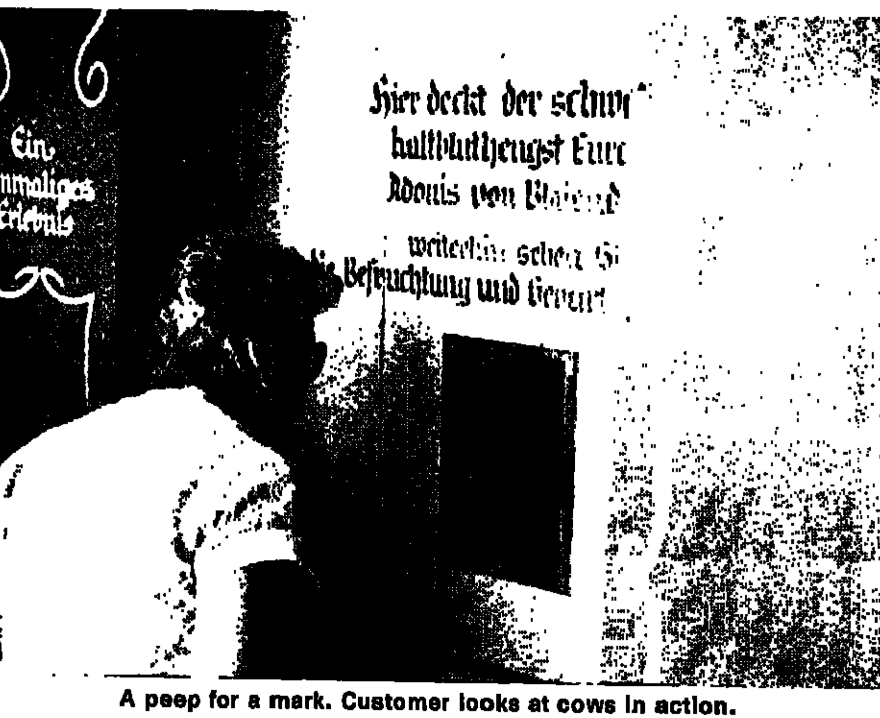
Most of the visitors comes from the Ruhr, which begins a bare 30 miles away, but many come also from Holland, from Lower Saxony and elsewhere.

Döpper's business has kept getting bigger. He was forced to lease a neighbouring farm to meet demand for his meat. He has a biogas installation — naturally it's the biggest in the world — for power and he sells dung to his guests.

His verses praise the quality of his biogas, the extol his own wit and they express compassion for the poor oil sheikhs now that they have to face competition from Farmer Döpper's brilliant biogas plant.

There is a crowd in front of the one-armed bandits and video machines. For five marks, visitors get a choice of sausage from a conveyor belt. The menu in the rural-style eating room offers above all rural delights, typical meals, and even the beer has a country name, "Bauernkrug."

In the best rural tradition of this part of Westphalia, not merely one chop is placed on the plate, but two are slapped on it, preferably overlapping the sides.



A peep for a mark. Customer looks at cows in action.

(Photo: Roser)

The sheer size of the portions are reason enough for many people to come to the farm.

Now the Prickingshof is a modern leisure centre employing 50 workers and parking for 1,000 cars and 100 buses. Advertising makes sure the throngs keep thronging in. Obviously, the entire idea is successful: more than a million people a year pass through and pay up.

There is even entertainment for children. There are water games, a scooter course and remote-controlled cars and boats. The children are excited. The parents quickly get rid of their small change. Everything costs a mark.

A loudspeaker booms out that every day, you can hear your farmer Ewald speak. There is no corner, no place where you can get away from the brainwaves of Ewald Döpper.

Spidery lettering tells people that after they have eaten, they should not forget to go to the Contemplation Park.

"That doesn't belong to him as well does it?" an old woman asked her companion almost with awe.

The entrance to the park is 200 metres away. It costs three marks to get in.

Yelling children come tumbling past right at the entrance on to the "first fully automated riding school in the world."

But after that, it becomes somewhat more contemplative. There is a walk past 14 tablets commemorating Christ's path to Calvary.

Then a tiny little house appears on the right with closed shutters: "The Twelve Apostles - insert one mark." When the magic mark is inserted, the shutters come open and the Apostles, led by Judas, revolve past the eyes of the astounded viewers.

However, there is something that costs nothing: a look at what is billed as the biggest bull in the world. He lies, bored, in his stall, looking without any trace of interest at the onlookers. On the roof of the stall, a huge crucifix pokes up into the sky.

An arrow indicates that to the right is "the Bethlehem Manger." With furrowed brow, a man looks doubtfully through the dark pane in an effort to see something.

"You've got to put a mark in," says his wife.

Thomas Roser

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 13 September 1987)

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Both comments were a reference to the German-Jewish relationship, but both comments applied equally to the death in the supermarket.

The following day demonstrators called for a boycott of the supermarket. A leaflet called for an end to the debasing way refugees and people seeking asylum were dealt with in West Germany.

Only a few hundred people took part in Javadi's funeral procession through the city.

Elisabeth Kirrmeier-Renner, daughter of former Tübingen mayor Viktor Renner, said that "when we passed through the Holzmarkt all the shops were shut."

Wulf Reimer

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 24 August 1987)

Green light for the end of a red-light era

Frankfurt is trying to drive out prostitution from the Hauptbahnhof (main station) area. It has been talking for years about cleaning the area up, but has had little success.

In 1980, the city administration passed a by-law, but a court found it to be null and void.

Now it is trying again. Another by-law has been drawn up. If everything goes smoothly, it will mean that the 23 brothels in the area — plus those in other metropolitan areas — and their prostitutes will have to move to six "tolerance zones."

But everything is not going smoothly. Torsten Schiller, a lawyer who used to be in charge of the Frankfurt commercial practice department — ironically the relevant department in this case — until he resigned, is representing many brothel owners and prostitutes. He is preparing to test the new by-law in court.

Brothels in the Hauptbahnhof area have a stay of execution until 30 June 1989. But those in other metropolitan areas are not so lucky: 20 of them, many small and up-market types employing a total of more than 70 women, are already being closed. The official notification says that the houses must be closed within a prescribed time or action will be taken.

Schiller, who is familiar with the scene and the law, has become the most significant counsel for brothel owners and prostitutes since leaving the department. He is representing 10 of the owners whose establishments are facing immediate closure.

He says the first appeal for a stay of execution has been lodged. More are to follow. Schiller: "The court has to check the order. This will put the new regulation to its first hard legal test."

He is also discussing with the city how the move should be made and also the building of new brothels in the tolerance zones, which are mainly in designated light-industrial zones. The city intends making building sites available.

Already, three brothels near the Hauptbahnhof are being converted back to normal use. In one premises where a peep show used to be, an office equipment firm has moved in.

After the failure of the 1980 by-law, the then new mayor of Frankfurt, Walter Wallmann, drew up new sanitation plans. Wallmann, a Christian Democrat, later became West Germany's first Environment Minister and is now the Premier of Hesse.

The Social Democrat city administration before Wallmann's CDU was elected wanted to confine prostitution to the Hauptbahnhof area, but Wallmann was concerned about not only the visual element for hundreds of thousands of commuters who passed by every day, but also the growth of crime in the area, especially drug-trafficking.

Wallmann planned to convert the area to increase the city's office space.

Now a new by-law has been drawn up. The notification for immediate closures was passed on to the 20 owners and employees with an invitation for them to state their views.

According to the new head of the commercial practices department, Malte Riechers, only a few bothered to take up the offer. A legal investigation had discovered evidence to support closure orders. Until now, the only brothel closures made without official pressure have been small ones away from the Hauptbahnhof area. The probable main reason is declining business because of the increasing fear of Aids.

Schiller believes that a sanitised Hauptbahnhof quarter will only make it a less-attractive area for many people, especially foreign visitors.

Heinrich Halbig

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 4 September 1987)